Colonialism and Contact: Continuity and Change in Philippine Ceramic Trade from the 14th through 18th Centuries

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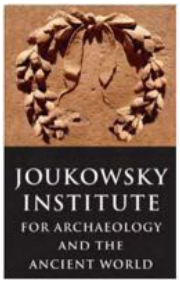

This thesis presented by Angela Marie Teng is accepted in its present form by the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Bachelor of the Arts.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers Philippine maritime ceramic trade as a legitimate proxy for surveying economic and social contexts across the archipelago during the Spanish colonial period. Changes in the ceramic trade provide clues about the social and economic effects of colonization in different regions of the Philippines. The frequency and density of trade porcelains and other ceramics in Southeast Asia during pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times reveal trade patterns throughout the duration of the 14th through the 18th century. While much work still needs to be done to gain a holistic understanding of the effects of European colonialism on indigenous populations, the cross-disciplinary method I used in my research attempts to bridge the gap between the economic and archaeological perspectives on this issue.

CHAPTER I: Introduction

How do colonial forces affect the societies and economies of the territories they acquire? How can material culture, specifically ceramic ware, help identify differing responses to the arrival of colonial forces such as the Spaniards? And how did Spanish rule affect the socioeconomic performance of various regions?

With a long history of colonization, the Philippines is a great place to start answering these questions. In particular, because the Philippine archipelago is comprised of such diverse and distinct cities and regions, it is possible to study the effects of the Spanish era in different settings. An interesting issue to investigate is how the Spanish colonial era in the Philippines influenced ceramic trade. We can observe the varied effects of Spanish colonization by looking at the differential distributions and trends of ceramic wares excavated across the archipelago.

Ceramic trade is an extensive proxy that allows us to study the socioeconomic effects of colonization on the Philippine archipelago. The frequency and density of trade ceramics in Southeast Asia during pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times allows us to have a good idea of trade patterns throughout the duration of the 14th through the 18th century, the period under study in this thesis. In other words, trade ceramics such as Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese porcelain—especially from cases such as shipwrecks and multi-layered sites that provide snapshots of the specific suite of goods traded at a given time—provide insight into trade relationships. Unlike many bulk trade goods, "porcelain is imperishable and diagnostic to time and place of manufacture. The importance of porcelain in both [regional] domestic [societies] and global trade makes it an ideal medium for documenting the reconfiguration of trade and local consumption" that occurred in the Philippines before, after, and even during the time of Spanish colonization (Li 2013: 45).

In this thesis, I utilize my background in both archaeology and economics to analyze the impact of Spanish colonialism on the socioeconomic environment in different parts of the Philippines. I argue that the Spanish era resulted in increased global ceramic trade in parts of the Philippines that were politically controlled and highly regulated by the Spanish. Spanish control opened up these communities to more extensive world trade, in particular by integrating Philippine ports as important elements of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade. On the other hand, regions that were more isolated from Spanish control, either because geographic location or political autonomy, remained more secluded from international markets.

For example, sites such as Sta. Ana, Manila, and Intramuros, two of Spain's Philippine bastions of power, served as "Neo-Europes" embodying Spanish architecture, style, religion, and political structure. In contrast, sites such the more remote Ifugao and other parts of Mindanao resisted Spanish rule. The complex case of the Mindanao island group in the southern end of the archipelago presents an interesting case study that allowed for continued trade within Southeast Asia even through the Spanish regime. Although I argue that the overall trade in the Philippines increased in scope and quantity during the Spanish era, it is unclear how much of its economic benefits actually had a downstream impact on the Filipinos and the future long-run economic growth of the Philippines.

Many of the questions I ask in my thesis stem from topics considered through the lens of my interdisciplinary background in economics and archaeology. In James Robinson and Daron Acemoglu's book *Why Nations Fail,* the authors mention that institutions can either be inclusive or extractive, depending on the methods used by colonizers (Robinson and Acemoglu 2012: 10). Inclusive institutions allow the colonized people to grow economically and politically, while extractive institutions stifle growth and utilize colonized settlements for raw materials. These

historic colonial differences greatly influence the present-day economic growth and performance of countries. Can this global, long-run macroeconomic growth framework also be applied in the Philippine setting? And if so, how useful would this analysis be to our understanding of Philippine regional socio-economic histories between the 14th and 18th centuries?

My thesis is an exploration of these critical questions, focusing on specific ceramic types and studying their distribution across the archipelago. Much can be said about ceramic analysis, and much work has been done in Philippine ceramic archaeology and postcolonial history. My thesis does not aim to summarize all the findings of these past works. While a considerable number of these publications will be discussed, I will focus here on using a cross-disciplinary and cross-material approach to answer the question: *What socioeconomic impact did Spanish colonialism have on different parts of the Philippine archipelago, and how much of this can we study by investigating changes in global Philippine ceramic trade?* The types of data to be used in my thesis include: (1) ceramic sherds that have been personally examined at the Ayala Museum in the Philippines, (2) ceramic data sets from the Philippine National Museum and the Guthe Collection at the Michigan's Museum of Anthropological Archaeology that have been studied and published by other archaeologists, and (3) historical documents that record trends in ceramic trade.

Chapter 2 will set out the theoretical framework to be used for the rest of this thesis as well as provide a brief background on trade relationships and maritime powers present in the archipelago—a preliminary discussion essential to identify possible sources of bias and better understand both the archaeological and economic perspectives on colonialism.

Chapter 3 will discuss the history of ceramic trade and archaeology in the Philippines. It will cover topics including the early political organization of the archipelago into chiefdoms, the importance of social and cultural relationships for trade, and the key players in Philippine maritime

trade from the 14th through the 18th centuries. It will also discuss the available types of historical and archaeological data and which of these will be studied within the scope of this thesis.

Chapter 4 focuses on Chinese ceramics, inspecting data that comes mainly from the Guthe Collection and the Ayala Museum. I give a brief overview of the different Chinese ceramic types, then delve into the distribution of these ceramics across the archipelago. I then ask what these spatial trends mean in terms of trade networks and cultural contact, and what information I can decipher about the social and economic environment within the archipelago at this time.

Chapter 5 analyzes Japanese ceramics, focusing on data from the National Museum of the Philippines and the Ayala Museum. I begin with a brief overview of the different types of Japanese ceramics, and then consider the possible origins and trade routes of the Japanese porcelain found in the Philippines. I then discuss the continuity and change of these ceramic trends, as well as variations in the quantity and quality of these ceramics through time. Finally, I consider the implications of these trends on Philippine trade networks and contact.

Chapter 6 looks at Vietnamese ceramics, using data from the Ayala Museum as well as historical records from Dutch accounts. Compared to Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter is more dependent on written archives, particularly because there is less archaeological evidence for Vietnamese ceramics that have currently been excavated within the Philippines. I inspect the contexts as well as the historical mentions of Vietnamese ceramic trade, and then discuss the implications of these trends on cultural contact and Southeast Asian trade networks.

Chapter 7 summarizes and discusses my findings, and is arranged in a question-and-answer format, focusing on a series of central questions my thesis aims to answer. Also discussed in this chapter are issues that can be explored through further research, as well as some of the caveats

raised by my cross-disciplinary analysis. It then concludes by summarizing the main social and economic conclusions that I have learned through my analysis.

Overall, my intent is to consider Philippine maritime ceramic trade as a legitimate proxy for surveying the economic and social contexts in various regions across the archipelago, and to better understand how these indigenous histories were affected by Spanish colonialism—a creative method that I think is immensely useful for both archaeologists and economists, as supported by the findings presented in this thesis.

CHAPTER II: The Theoretical Framework of Colonialism: Economic and Archaeological Perspectives

This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework that will be used for the rest of this thesis. To study the effects of colonialism on ceramic trade, I will discuss two schools of thought that have been used to analyze the impact of colonialism on indigenous populations—the economic perspective and the archaeological perspective.

For economists, colonialism is often viewed as having either a positive or a negative effect on a country's development, depending on whether the colonizing institutions are inclusive or extractive. Economic views on colonialism tend to draw evidence from recent historical periods. A substantial amount of economic literature that deals with colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries frame it in terms of growth models like the Solow Growth model as well as the Mankiw-Romer-Weil model, and macroeconomic frameworks that are based on more recent quantitative data.[1] On the other hand, archaeologists generally deal with data that spans centuries, including instances of first-contact colonialism, and delve into the socio-cultural effects of colonial forces. Both of these frameworks—one that deals largely with economic development and technical progress, and the other that focuses on cross-cultural interactions, ideological exchange, and material evidence—are important in dealing with and understanding the effects of colonialism. To determine the effects of colonial institutions on economic growth, I use ceramic trade as a proxy.

This chapter is organized as follows: the first part will discuss an economic framework that examines the correlation between colonial histories and economic growth. The second part will consider the overarching and encompassing role that colonialism has played in archaeology as a

[1] Although these concepts will not be discussed in detail in this thesis, a useful resource for these growth models is David Weil's book, Economic Growth. Weil, D. (2014). *Economic Growth*. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

discipline, and what it means for understanding the socioeconomic impact of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines as seen in material remains from ceramic trade. Lastly, this chapter will end in a discussion of how this cross-disciplinary framework sets the stage for the analytical method to be used for the rest of this thesis, as well as how we can deal with the bigger question today of using these insights and decolonizing indigenous archaeologies to give voice to populations that were previously unheard. This research framework will be used to validate indigenous experiences and recreate a more accurate, inclusive, and dynamic discussion of the past.

Economic Perspectives

Two views on the impact of Western colonization currently prevail in the economic literature: 1) that colonization boosted trade and economic growth in colonies because of increased market openness and institutions; and 2) that colonization substantially slowed growth in colonies as colonizers extracted and monopolized access to local natural resources.

In the past, the major economic viewpoint about market openness and increased trade was that it would be beneficial for a country's economic growth. However, does this same ideology apply to colonized nations? Does more trade in a colonized nation mean that its indigenous people benefit from open markets? According to a paper written by Shahid Alam, the economic impact of colonialism and the economic policies implemented by colonial governments have long-lasting implications on "economic growth, industrialization, literacy rates and stock of human capital in the labor force" (Alam 2000: 1). Through a study of Sub-Saharan Africa's colonial history, the author discusses the polarization between "advanced" countries and "lagging" countries, although this terminology is only relatively defined according to a country's markets for capital, labor, and land. "The advanced countries seek to integrate the lagging countries, monopolize their markets,

and appropriate their resources. In order to prevent these outcomes, the lagging countries seek to structure their integration into the world economy, to distance themselves from the advanced countries" (Alam 2000: 2).

Regarding Sub-Saharan Africa's history of Western colonization, Alam writes, "This vision of the global economy was deeply flawed. Starting in the sixteenth century, many countries were forcibly integrated into the global economy, their markets flung open to the free movement of goods, capital, labor and enterprises. Yet, these primary-producing economies languished while their exports multiplied, so that after decades, and sometimes centuries, of assimilation into the global economy, they had very little to show for their unqualified devotion to free markets" (Alam 2000: 7).

Alam then goes on to discuss an important point, one that resonates with the main argument of this thesis: the dual-concept of imperialism and colonialism. Many colonizing countries sought to gain "unconditional access to the markets and resources" of the colonized countries (Alam 2000: 10). A method colonizers used in Sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world from 1760-1960 AD was to maintain monopoly power of the colony's resources by keeping rival colonizers out of their newly acquired land. Through expropriation, Western colonizers were able to capture the lands, mineral resources, and manpower of their colonies. Some colonial powers even went as far as taxing their colonies and using these revenues for further foreign conquests. Alam concludes that by the nineteenth century, "all non-Western countries in Asia and Africa [except for Japan]… had been reduced to colonies or quasi-colonies" (Alam 2000: 11). The detachment of indigenous capital, skills, and enterprises through their loss of sovereignty proved to be barrier to economic growth. Alam's statistical analyses show that there was indeed a strong positive correlation between sovereignty and industrialization, which eventually lead to a faster pace of national

economic growth.[2] Countries or communities which were colonized and were able to keep their sovereignty intact reaped benefits of faster growth from increased market openness, trade, and institutions. However, countries that did not keep their sovereignty grew at a much slower pace because of their forced integration. These lagging countries suffered from the "loss of manufactures, a shrinking comparative advantage in primary production, and the displacement of indigenous capital, skills and enterprises; it also led to monopolization and direct appropriation of their resources" (Alam 2000: 14). Thus, the loss of sovereignty slowed economic growth.[3] This correlation between imperialism and colonialism has evident effects on the historical and developmental trajectory of diverse populations.

Similarly, another paper written by Acemoglu et al. (2001) describes how different colonial origins determined the relative economic development in African countries. In their paper, the authors study the effect of institutions on economic growth, basing the types of institutions and colonization policies present in a given country on the "differences in European mortality rates" (Acemoglu et al. 2001: 1). In countries where early European mortality rates were higher, and thus not conducive for future European settlers, extractive institutions were established—these were detrimental to economic growth in the colonized country. Acemoglu et al. argue that these institutions that were initially established during the first European contact still persist in the present day. They conclude that there were "large effects of institutions on income per capita" when using "differences in European mortality rates as an instrument for current institutions" (Acemoglu et al. 2001: 1). Their paper rests on three premises, namely; (1) that there were

[2] Sovereignty was measured in this analysis as the "share of manufactures in national output". See Shahid Alam, 2000 for more details on the computations.

[3] For a more in depth discussion about whether the empirical research presented here represents merely a correlation or if it is causal in nature, see Shahid Alam (2000) p. 16-20. However, even if this relationship is only a correlation, it is clear that the relationship between colonization and economic growth is very strong. Thus, this finding is still extremely significant for the overall question this thesis tries to answer; "How did Spanish colonization affect economic growth in different communities in the Philippines, and how is this evidenced by material culture?"

"different types of colonization policies which created different sets of institutions", (2) "colonization strategy was influenced by the feasibility of settlements" based on European mortality rate, and (3) that "the colonial state and institutions persisted even after their independence" (Acemoglu et al. 2001: 3). The authors discuss two different types of institutions introduced by the Europeans; extractive states and Neo-Europes—a similar analysis as discussed by Alam. Acemoglu et al. state that extractive states had the main purpose to "transfer as much of the resources of the colony to the colonizer", while Neo-Europes allowed settlers to "replicate European institutions, with strong emphasis on private property and checks against government power" (Acemoglu et al. 2001: 3).[4]

This macro-level framework that has been evident globally in the 21st century could potentially also explain variations in regional growth across the Philippine archipelago. As will later be discussed in this thesis, different islands across the archipelago had contrasting relationships with their intercontinental trade partners, as well as the Spanish colonizers. Does this macroeconomic modern pattern of extractive versus inclusive colonization then apply to populations in regional island Philippines?

While most of the studies that deal with the economic growth of the Philippines under colonial rule delve into the American Period (Iyer and Maurer 2007: 1-21), there also exists some research about the economy in the time of the Spaniards (Voss 2010; Voss 2008). During the Spanish Era, the growth of the Philippine economy was largely based on the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade. The Philippine colony's income was heavily based on traded goods that were shipped across the Pacific Ocean from colonies of New Spain—namely from Acapulco (which is now in Mexico) to Manila. Although the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade incorporated the

[4] For a more detailed discussion of Neo-Europes, see Alfred Crosby's work (1986).

Philippine islands and brought in Spanish silver into the archipelago, the trade system was mainly established and operated for the benefit of the Spaniards.[5] Moreover, as a Spanish colony, the Philippines was taxed and used as an income-generating source for the Spaniards. These taxes included direct taxes, personal tribute, and income tax, as well as indirect taxes such as customer duties and the *bandala*, which was an annual forced sale and confiscation of goods to the Spaniards. In 1884, this form of tribute taxation was replaced with the notorious *cedula personal*, a community tax certificate, which obligated everyone above the age of 18 to pay for personal identification that gives them a legal identity and the right to be a resident of the Philippines. Additionally, all males from the ages 16 to 60 were required to carry out forced labor, or *polo y servicio*, that according to the law, had to be executed 40 days per year. Thus, although the political reach of the Spaniards differed across islands and cities within the Philippine archipelago, research by the majority of the Philippine historians and archaeologists show that, on average, the colonizer-colony relationship between Spain and the Philippines was largely extractive.

In this thesis, I use the colonialism-effect ideology and conceptual framework from Alam (2000) and Acemoglu et al. (2001) to examine how different parts of the Philippines responded to changes in ceramic trade during the 14th through 18th Centuries. The presence of differential institutions in colonial societies suggests that different responses to colonialism may be observed on a regional basis, as is the case in highland and lowland populations in the Philippines, port cities and unconquered city-states, as well as more isolated provinces and those that are more accessible. I hypothesize that Philippine populations that were conquered by the Spaniards and used for

[5] This is one of the core concepts generally taught in the Philippine curriculum. For an example of this, see *Philippine History Module-based Learning*. Rex Bookstore, Inc. 2002. p. 83. ISBN 9789712334498. For more information, also see Bjork, Katharine. "The Link that Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571-1815." *Journal of World History* vol. 9, no. 1, (1998) 25-50

extractive purposes, such as trade in spices and gold, attained slower economic growth as compared to Neo-European port cities like Intramuros or Sta. Ana that had more direct Spanish control and settlement by Spaniards. Similarly, growth for regions that were able to resist Spanish rule, possibly like the highland Ifugao or the Mindanao region, may have been slower because they were more isolated and cut off from the rest of the archipelago, thus limiting their trade.

Archaeological Perspectives

Colonial effects on indigenous populations have been studied extensively using archaeological data. Colonialism, both past and modern, affects our understanding of all aspects of daily life and our interpretation of the material culture today. Colonial forces have had a wider impact on the discipline of archaeology in that it has shaped the way we study sites, artifacts, and people both in the past and in the 21st century. These colonial histories have created two layers of bias: the first being that produced by colonial discourse itself, and the second being bias in our interpretation of evidence. "Archaeology is enmeshed with colonialism, not only in the subject of its investigations and methods of practice but also in the visual, cultural, and national representations that it engenders" (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 2). Cultural, economic, and social contact among people from various civilizations brings about transformations in the form of "exchange of goods and ideas, and episodes of encounter that were colonial by intent or outcome" (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 1). These concepts are closely intertwined with preconceived notions about development that are dictated by a linear progression of states into more developed and "forward" civilizations. A common misconception has been that societies can only develop when they follow the pattern of advancement of the Western world.

Thus, this bias inherent within archaeology as a discipline has conditioned many of the approaches to studying colonialism and its effects on indigenous societies.

Although there have been some written documents that discuss contact period Philippines, colonial period accounts such as those written by the Spaniards as well as the Chinese are very much prejudiced by "perceptual biases, political motivation and simple misunderstanding" (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 9).[6] The permeating effect of colonialism on both the archaeological discipline as well as the histories of colonized societies is extremely difficult to isolate and disentangle from the influence of other socio-political and economic variables. Accordingly, considerable archaeological studies on the impact of Spanish colonization on the New World show that some of the initial changes experienced by these colonized and later Hispanized populations reflect "non-directed responses to social disintegration, and do not include replacement of native technologies, materials or functions by European counterparts, or the adoption of European stylistic and formal elements in native craft traditions" (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 10). The sometimes less clear-cut consequences of colonialism on indigenous populations has made it difficult for archaeologists to study these histories in an un-biased manner, and has often lead to an unintentional distortion of these peoples' stories.

Furthermore, the Spanish colonization of the New World can, in many instances, be seen to follow the pattern of extractive and inclusive colonization, with the former more prevalent than the latter. For example, in the first Spanish colony in the Americas, La Isabela, it has been argued that Christopher Columbus's main motivation was gold. As the "first Old World colonial venture leading to permanent occupation in the Americas," the site of La Isabela is evidential of American-European cultural exchange (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 12). dThe Spaniards probably

[6] Although Deagan and Cruxent discuss Spanish-American interactions at Hispaniola, I quote from them because the environment and setting of colonization of the New World is similar to that of the Philippine archipelago.

disembarked on the area of Las Coles, on the left bank of the Bajabonico river, to exploit Hispaniola's resources:

> "exploitation of Hispaniola's resources—especially gold—was the driving impetus for the colony, and Columbus's primary concern for a settlement location was proximity to the interior gold fields of the Cibao… The "Paso de los Hidalgos"—the primary Indian communication route between the allegedly gold-rich Cibao and the coast—opened to the bay of Isabela. Possibly recognizing this and wishing to take advantage of it, Columbus built his military and trade centre in the best defensive position in the bay, and supported it with a satellite settlement in the best subsistence position in the bay." (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 14).

Moreover, the artifacts that archaeologists found at that site highly indicate that although the establishment of the colony was mainly motivated by extractive ideologies, much of the ceramics and pottery indicate that there was some form of "recreation of fifteenth century Spanish life—a translation of material elements with relatively little intention of adopting American techniques or materials" (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 17). In particular, the Spanish utility ceramics that were locally produced at the La Isabela site were "considered essential" by Columbus and these first colonists who landed in the Americas (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 17). This merging of both extractive and somewhat inclusive cultural and economic colonization gives insight into a different way of looking at the effects of colonialism. Although the pottery and artifacts are unique in that many of them are directly medieval European, many other New World sites colonized by the Spaniards show strong influences of both extractive and inclusive forces.

In contrast to the La Isabela site, Puerto Real, another Spanish-American site, shows evidence that there was a Spanish "adaptation to local circumstances through the adoption of local technologies and traits," where neither the production of European style utility ceramics were produced locally, nor were they stylistically similar to the ceramic ware produced at Puerto Real (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 26). This case study then is more clear-cut and evident shift in social

colonial behavior, and by extension, colonist behavior. Although colonist-colonizer relationships were still pervasive, intermarriages between Spanish men and Indian women as well as the "acceptance and incorporation of American wives and American technologies into Spanish households" was more frequent (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 26). The Puerto Real case study shows a more adaptive approach of Spanish colonization as compared to thorough rejection that was evident for the La Isabela site. In addition to the more inclusive cultural setting at Puerto Real, social and material trade also began with the Amerindian population there with the African, European, and other Amerindian populations and spread extensively throughout the rest of the American colonial period (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 28). In fact, the ceramics found at the Puerto Real site as well as other mixed *croillo* and Amerindian sites "are among the very first material expressions of the social process that shaped the society of the "new world"" (Deagan and Cruxent 1993: 28). Thus, although the economic framework I am using stems from modern theories, it still serves as an important and useful way of thinking about the effects of the Spanish Era on the Philippine archipelago. The diverse combinations of extractive and inclusive elements present in Spanish and Spanish-American sites in the New World are evidential of a possible trend which may also have been present in other Spanish colonies like the Philippines.

To formally and holistically understand the signs of change in multicultural contact societies, as well as intentionally and unintentionally colonized civilizations, we must study evidence which is present on each stratum of contact. Ceramics provide a unique data set to evaluate socioeconomic trends in the Philippines, and to hypothesize how these trends were affected by the Spanish regime. In particular, a study of these archaeological objects provides a unique angle into how "the material world of creativity and commerce—are not simply residues of social interaction but are active agents in shaping identities and communities" (Lyons and

Papadopoulos 2002: 8). Trade ceramics serve as a proxy of both cross-ocean global contact and economic activity. The messages and information inherent in these ceramics that have traveled across oceans give us the opportunity to more clearly examine the differential impacts of Spanish colonization on distinct segments of society. Similarly, ceramic objects can also be viewed as instruments of change that have influenced the "shape and substance of people's lives" (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 8). By viewing objects and ceramic remains as active devices that have caused change and reactions among and within populations, we get a better perspective of the overall correlation between colonization and its socioeconomic effects on indigenous populations.

Decolonizing Indigenous Histories

While this thesis aims to study a very particular aspect of Spanish colonialism and its effects on the Philippine archipelago, the larger question of how this study is significant still stands. In both the knowledge gained and the distinct methodology used, this thesis seeks to decolonize indigenous histories and understand the past in a more inclusive and bias-aware manner, particularly in geographic areas that still appear to still have traces of Orientalist histories. "One can think of culture contact as a spectrum, rather than as single phenomenon" (Whittington and Workinger 2015: 225). Particularly, I study these sociocultural and economic effects by looking at objects, with a focus on ceramics, and studying how these objects were used and passed on from one person to another, from one place to another—and in essence, how the meaning and significance of these ceramic objects changed over time. The effects of colonialism in the archaeological discipline have been discussed in a more overarching and multidimensional manner for a given population, which is why a cross-disciplinary approach to understanding the impacts of colonization on indigenous populations is especially useful for understanding the question that

my thesis aims to answer. An important caveat to studies of colonialism and the archaeology of colonized societies is that these researches are largely constructed as narratives—social histories that rely on perceptions, agency, and narrations. As described by Lyons and Papadopoulos in their book about archaeology and colonialism;

> In other areas of the globe, the past has only been excavated more recently and colonial area remains often do not receive the scrutiny accorded to ruins and monuments of "original" cultures. This is in part due to the interests of classically trained archaeologists and travelers who set out to discover exotic civilizations in the Americas, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent… Nationalist archaeology, furthermore, valued the indigenous heritage of pre-colonial eras as a cornerstone of the nation's authenticity and legitimacy. (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 2).

While the study of colonial histories has in the past been fraught with cultural, historical, and disciplinary-inherent bias, my thesis aims to provide a strategy for acknowledging and recognizing the effects that this deep-rooted bias has had on our interpretations, understanding, and preconceived notions about Philippine pre-contact and post-colonial societies. These Grand Narratives, which "make special claims on position, relationship, and context in order to explain rather than simply represent, the world" have been present in Southeast Asian archaeology as well as Spanish and Portuguese colonialism (Voss 2015: 352). The interactions of the positions of the narrators and audiences of this social history, the relationship between the story and the events it represents, as well as the contexts of the production, dissemination, performance, and reception of these narratives clearly play a role in how we, as archaeologists and researchers, understand and evaluate them (Voss 2015: 353).

Further, Voss states that both anthropologists and archaeologists have recognized their own Grand Narrative—a story that focuses on "acculturation by English-speaking scholars" and which has generated the idea that "colonization is about cultural change, rather than violence, territorial

appropriation, and economic exploitation," from which all are generally difficult to extract from the process of colonization (Voss 2015: 354). Thus, at the heart of my thesis, I aim to help elucidate these stories, and give voice to the generations of Filipinos who have suffered under the weight of the ideology that the Spanish Era brought us only Catholicism and global trade. I want to remind historians, scholars, and archaeologists, both in my country and across the globe, that the study of colonialism cannot be disentangled from concepts of unequal power relations, violence, and oppression. While my thesis is principally academic and based on facts, material culture, and textual evidence, I want to use this opportunity to alter the way many millennials today have viewed our history of colonization, and clarify misconceptions national misconceptions that we would have been better off had we remained a Spanish or American colony.

To map out how this information about indigenous populations and colonized communities can be identified through the use of objects, I will look at ceramic finds from China, Vietnam, and Japan. Specifically, by looking at pottery and ceramics, which were objects used in daily life, we can see that most of the preconceived notions of progress and development have been viewed as the inevitability of assimilation of the cultural, political, and economic systems of European colonizers.

Thus, the intersecting and overlapping effects of colonization on the indigenous populations in the Philippines can then be used as a macroscopic case-study to provide a unique perspective on how these lasting and diverse socioeconomic impacts can be better understood through the study of trends in ceramic trade. "The mixed character of colonial populations, in which elements of settler and local culture combined to shape a distinct cultural entity, has suggested that hybridity and ambiguity more accurately characterize colonial relations" (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 7). Within the archipelago, different *barangays*, or small administrative

divisions, had distinct trade patterns and trade practices with the neighboring communities. These trade patterns were highly influenced by each *datu* or leader's social relationship with the leaders of the neighboring community. As will be discussed later in this thesis, the Philippine ceramic trade was affected largely by socio-cultural conditions as well as the economic environment.

Disentangling and excavating identity from these material-cultural residues is a challenge, but we can infer the individual roles people played in society and analyze the various structures of a community if we understand artifacts as "symbolic surrogates that operate beyond their everyday uses to mediate social relationships" (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 9). Again, although our interpretations and re-interpretations of these ceramics may be inherently biased, it is still only by generating a collection of various perspectives and understanding these intrinsic prejudices that we can make a more informed and inclusive analysis of colonial effects on indigenous populations.

CHAPTER III: The History of Archaeology and Ceramic Trade in the Philippines

To better analyze changes in ceramic trade before and after the colonial period, it is important to understand the varying political systems as well as the history of archaeological research within the Philippine islands. This chapter will (1) briefly summarize archaeological studies of the prehistoric and historical periods in the Philippines, (2) discuss a model of political organization in the Philippines before and after Spanish colonialism, (3) identify the key players in Philippine maritime trade, namely the Spanish, the Dutch, and the Chinese, and (4) study the historical sources through which we know about ceramic trade in the Philippines.

The Archaeological Record

Historical archaeology in the Philippines has generally been divided according to the concurrent colonial and political phases, beginning with the advent of the Spanish colonization in the 16th century through the 1950s. Particularly, scholars have divided the Philippine archaeological eras into the pre-colonial period (before 1521 CE), Spanish Period (1521-1898 CE), the American Period (1898-1946 CE) and the Philippine Republic (1946-1950 CE) (Evangelista 1969: 98). This thesis will focus on the Spanish Period.

Archaeological research on the Spanish Period depends on historical accounts that are generally ethnographic in nature. Although the Spanish colonizers observed diverse cultural-linguistic patterns among the native Filipinos, not much was done by these conquistadors to study how these systems developed. The following accounts draw heavily from Evangelista (1969). Most of the historical sources from this period stem from priests or religious explorers who accompanied Spanish ships to do missionary work in the archipelago. These works were written

primarily as reports to the king, and focus largely on the geographical appearance of the islands as well as methods for "dealing with the natives" (Evangelista 1969: 98). Some of the most famous works that contain "invaluable ethnographic material about the Filipinos" include *Las Costumbres de los Indios* by Father Juan de Plascencia, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* by Father Pedro Chirino, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* by Dr. Antonio de Morga, and *Historia General de Philipinas* by Father Juan de la Concepcion. According to Otley Beyer and Wilhelm Solheim[7], two of the most prominent figures in Philippines archaeology, there has only been one important archaeological investigation that was carried out within the archipelago before the Americans arrived in 1898, namely the explorations of Alfred Marche which focused largely on artifacts from burial caves. The focus of archaeological research on the Spanish Period has largely been on sites that were important to the Spaniards and other European colonizers. The findings were focused on architectural artistry, including the Catholic churches built across Manila or Old Manila, as well as bastions of Spanish power like the walled city of Intramuros. Much of the archaeological research focused on Philippine heritage and history, as well as the roles these sites played in the history of the Philippine Revolution. *Figure 3.1* shows a map of the Philippines from the 8th to the 14th centuries, and *Figure 3.2* provides a rough timeline of the major historical events in its history. *Figure 3.3* depicts three of the most prominent Philippine national heroes, on whom much historical work and research in Intramuros focuses. Much work was been done to use these Spanish sites to reconstruct the lives of national heroes and piece together the events that led to our country's "independence" and the foundation of the First Republic. *Figure 3.4* shows Intramuros, one of these historical Spanish bastions of power.

[7] Solheim, W. (2002). *Archaeology of central Philippines: A Study Chiefly of the Iron Age and its Relationships.* Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

Moreover, during this time, Dr. Otley Beyer, who headed the Department of Anthropology of the University of the Philippines, Diliman, spearheaded research concerning the cultural history of the archipelago (Evangelista 1969: 99). Some of the most notable sites he worked at included the Visayan Islands collection, the Pugad-Babuy Bulacan Collection, the Sta. Mesa and Cubao Collections, Rizal Province, Pampanga, Camarines Norte, Cavite, Zambales, and Sulu (Evangelista 1969: 100).[8] This period also saw the Visayan explorations of Carl Guthe, whose finds are discussed later in this thesis (Evangelista 1969: 99). At the end of 1925, the Rizal-Bulacan Archaeological Survey began by chance, as construction work on the Novaliches Dam yielded glass bracelets, a few beads, and a considerable quantity of pottery sherds (Evangelista 1969: 100). In 1932, the Batangas Archaeological Survey, which found prehistoric assemblages, namely Stone-Age artifacts from the Paleolithic to the late Neolithic and Bronze Age of the Philippines, began and continued until the onset of the Second World War (Evangelista 1969: 100). However, at this time, because of the lack of trained archaeologists and ethnographers within the country, many amateur archaeologists as well as wealthy patrons started collecting artifacts for their personal collections. A popular component of many of these hoards were oriental ceramics and pottery—specifically, there was a huge abundance of "Chinese pieces of Sung, Yuan, and early Ming date and in Siamese wares" in the collection of E. D. Hester, who later donated half of this collection to the Chicago (Field) Museum of Natural History and sold the other half to the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan (Evangelista 1969: 100).

[8] During the American Period, archaeology and anthropology received much political support from the administration of the United States. At that time, U.S. President McKinley "recommended a careful study of the cultural, social and political life of the people in order to formulate policy that would both take into account their praiseworthy traits and allow for their prejudices", thus increasing the recognition and importance of anthropology as a discipline (Evangelista 1969: 99).

Evidently, in the early stages of Philippine archaeology, most of the work and power was held by foreign scholars and researchers. Although this has led to methodological innovation and a huge increase in national knowledge about and exposure to global archaeological practices, foreign management and administration of excavations in the country has led to issues related to cultural heritage policies, national identity, cultural and historical property ownership, as well as colonial histories. Many of these issues, which are extremely relevant to contemporary Philippine archaeology, fall outside the scope of this thesis.

Political Organization: Philippine *Barangays*

In the past, scholars have used models of chiefdoms and homogenous non-egalitarian pre-state frameworks to study the political organization of the Philippines before the arrival of European colonial powers in 1521. A map of the Philippines is shown on *Figure 3.5*. The so-called ancient *barangays* were "well organized villages and in some cases, cosmopolitan sovereign principalities which functioned much like a city-state" (Zaide 1999: 30). Originating from the Malay word *balangay*, *barangay* meant sailboat. The traditional view has been that the first *barangays* formed as communities that included about 50 to 100 families that may have originated in coastal settlements as a result of the migration of Malayo-Polynesian people by boat across Southeast Asia (Jocano 1967: 35; Bellwood 2013: 1-326). By the time the Spaniards arrived, these *barangays* had developed into larger and more complex polities, with distinct political and socioeconomic hierarchies. Much of each *barangay's* livelihood was dependent on fisheries, riverine, and coastal activities. River systems were essential to the growth of *barangays,* as most of their daily activities, including bathing, traveling, and drinking, relied heavily on the use of

these river systems. Long-distance trade was also prominent among the archipelago's Asian neighbors.

The diversity among the various provinces and islands within the Philippine archipelago gave each *barangay* a regional identity, and a unique social arrangement. However, in many *barangays*, the organization of power usually depended on one's birthright and purity of bloodline to lead the community. The leaders were called *datu*s, meaning chiefs, sovereign princes, or monarchs. References to the pre-colonial *datus* and other *barangay* nobility were found in the Boxer Codex, a 16th century manuscript that contains "colored drawings of the inhabitants of China, the Philippines, Java, the Moluccas, the Ladrones, and Siam" as well as text that includes "contemporary accounts describing these places, their people and customs, and the European contact with them" (The Lilly Library Digital Collections 2017)[9]. The Boxer Codex is an important source that provides an interesting perspective to the Spanish period, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Written in the late sixteenth century, the manuscript's illustrations depict images of Filipinos and their surrounding Asian neighbors dressed in their regional dress. The Codex contains Spanish text and imagery which was not of European style. It was discovered by Charles Boxer in 1947, and identified to have been made in Manila between 1590 and 1591 (World Library Org 2017: online).

The *datu* ruling class was composed of the families who first settled on the Philippine islands, or those who were already leading the societies they came from before arriving on the archipelago (Junker 1998: 310). Today, some of these *barangays* that have resisted Spanish influence and conquest still exist with un-Hispanicized cultures in the southern part of the Philippines, particularly in Mindanao.

[9] Online access to this can be found at http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/collections/items/show/93

Throughout the pre-colonial period, most prestige goods such as oriental porcelain were used by and found in wealthy households. It appears that sociopolitical elites controlled the exchange of these goods. However, archaeological work on households within Cebu and Tanjay show that the wealth differentials and status-related variation in trade goods evolved from the first to the second millennium AD due to changes in sociopolitical organization. Through quantitative measures of foreign porcelain densities, elaborate earthenware, metal goods, glass beads, and other similar prestige goods, it is evident that a "household's status display becomes more finely graded and continuously varied by the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries" (Junker 1998: 310). However, as will be later discussed in more detail, this finding may be somewhat inconsistent with the evidence from Ming porcelain vessels, which deteriorated in terms of both quantity and quality in household sites and other excavation sites—a possible indicator that pottery also had functional and utilitarian uses outside of their use as elite social wealth symbols. Moreover, Chinese trade records and archaeological evidence also show that the quantity of foreign porcelain that was found in both burials and settlements increased "at least fivefold" from the Early Ming to the Late Ming period (Junker 1998: 310). These foreign porcelains also began to be used across a wider geographical area, as well as for more purposes within the household and the community in the 15th to 16th centuries. For example, excavations in Cebu and Tanjay showed that these material goods were also present in non-elite households by that time. Evidence also suggests that in Cebu and Tanjay, trade increased dramatically in complexity right before European contact.

Figure 3.6 adapted from Junker (1998: Fig. 4) depicts the evolution of Philippine pre-colonial political structures over time, along with other important trends. As is shown in Junker's chart, the early political structure of the Philippine *barangays* was unique in each case across the archipelago, although similar in that they all had a clearly hierarchical structure.

The view that *barangays* were organized in identical ways has been refuted by Junker for over-simplifying the political environment in the pre-colonial Philippines. She disputes the traditional view that *barangays* were "chiefdoms," a socio-evolutionary concept that has been used to describe varied archaeological cultures across the world, because the chiefdom concept oversimplifies the varying scale and complexities of *barangay* polities across the archipelago. Furthermore, this method of comparing cross-cultural models has concealed the significant variation in, and transformations of, these non-egalitarian *barangays* throughout the time period of study. Junker argues that:

> At the time of the European contact in the early sixteenth century, most of the major islands of the Philippines had a complex political landscape comprised of chiefdoms of varying scale and complexity in coastal river valleys, interacting through trade and conflict with each other and with smaller-scale tribal agriculturalist societies and mobile foragers in the island interiors. While Philippine societies were regionally integrated and polities centered, the hereditary elite, they were characterized by a highly volatile "segmentary" structure shaped by ephemeral alliance-structured coalitions, a political form generally not considered in classic cultural evolutionary models of chiefdoms.
> (Junker 1998: 292).

These variations in regional and island-*barangay* contexts can be further understood through a close analysis of their maritime interactions and differing political portrayals in globally-sourced textual evidence. Through the use of diverse texts from different cultures, Philippine excavated material culture, and studies about the remaining pockets of traditional chiefdom organization, particularly in Mindanao, Junker was able to construct a detailed description of how varying international perspectives of the archipelago's political situation affected its trade relationships with other Southeast Asian nations from the first millennium AD to the time of European contact.

Another similar perspective on precolonial settlements and societies in Southeast Asia is that discussed by Reed (1978). Reed argues that "despite certain differences in function between coastal city-states and inland sacred cities… there is little doubt that urbanism predated the

Europeans in Southeast Asia" (Reed 1978: 1). Reed also discusses city-states and polities that were common around island-civilizations in Southeast Asia, particularly in maritime zones, such as Java, as well as port cities that had commercial linkages with neighboring countries. Like Junker (1998), Reed (1978) also discusses the importance of "cultivating alliances" with powerful Southeast Asian kingdoms in acquiring political and economic power, as well as gaining access to substantial markets and maritime trade (Reed 1978: 1). However, as I discuss in the next section, one of the main problems of these studies of social relationships expanding a society's economic reach is the contradictory evidence put forth by relevant indigenous and non-indigenous narratives.

Key Players in Philippine Maritime Trade and Historical Sources

Maritime trade in the Philippine archipelago had various motivations, contexts, and trends, both before and after the Spanish era. Trade channels are important to identify because they reveal locations where ceramic-ware was abundant—thus giving us the background to identify if there may be any geographic or contextual biases in the data sets we are dealing with. Because of the "relative ease of maritime transport, the heterogeneous distribution of resources, and the scarcity of labor for producing local status goods," many Southeast Asian city-states, including those on the Philippine archipelago, relied heavily on foreign trade of prestige goods to display wealth (Junker 1998: 308). Maritime trade between the Philippine archipelago and its neighbors allowed *datus* to expand their political power and increase their economic competitive advantage in terms of trade surplus and foreign exports. Ceramic trade in particular satisfied demand for goods used for pre-trade gifts, elite competitive feasting events, ritual presentations, and political marriages, among the Philippine city-states and their trade partners. This important role that ceramic trade

played in coalition-building and growing personal alliance networks was a key element that helped *datus* expand their political power.

To better understand trade relationships within and outside of the archipelago, it is essential to recognize the different views that early Philippine trade partners had about their degree of power and control within each geographic *barangay*. These perspectives about who held power and what kind of cultural and economic relationships neighboring civilizations had with Philippine polities greatly defined how, where, and by the extent to which trade was conducted. Junker (1998) cites three main narratives of Philippine political power from the 1st millennium AD to the Spanish colonization: the Malay perspective, the Chinese perspective, and Spanish and early European perspectives. Although there is much evidence that Filipino traders regularly visited Malacca, Brunei, and other Southeast Asian and South China ports during precolonial times, these trading activities "failed to induce the crystallization of… organization forms among Filipinos" (Reed 1978: 3). Instead, as both Reed (1978) and Junker (1998) posit, Islam served as a "powerful stimulus to change and to the emergence of… supravillage chiefdoms in the Philippines," and thus an important unifying force before the arrival of the Spanish (Reed 1987: 3). After the arrival of the Spaniards, these Islamic traditions further spurred the emergence of supra-*barangays* in an attempt to gain total political control over the archipelago, like the two identified by Reed (1978)—the ports of Manila and Cebu (Reed 1978:3).

Oral Malay traditions and indigenous southern Philippine texts present a rich source of textual evidence from Southeast Asian trading kingdoms that had close connections with polities within the archipelago, including Majapahit Java, Brunei Borneo, and the Malacca Strait kingdoms (Junker 1998: 294-295). However, these narratives often misinterpret Philippine polities such as Manila and Sulu to have been under the direct political control of Brunei during the 15th through

16th centuries. This misrepresentation of the state of affairs within Philippine polities may have stemmed from the tradition of Brunei elite intermarriages with members of the Filipino elite ruling class. Most of the Malay sources that reference Philippine polities have previously been studied from the perspective of Bornean writers, who have a strong interest in emphasizing their political ascendancy and cultural dominance over rival Philippine polities of similar scale (Junker 1998: 295). The same perspective is prominent among Javanese texts that describe their political and religious dominance over the southern Philippines, including Maguindanao and Sulu. Oral traditions and the *tarsila* genealogy within the southern polities also claim that those city-states have foreign origins, a notion that is still somewhat prevalent in the southern portion of the country today.[10] Junker (1998) mentions that it is important to recognize, when studying these relationships, that "foreign Southeast Asian polities advanced their political agendas through exaggerated claims of political influence in the archipelago, while the Philippine polities themselves often alleged exotic origins as a strategy of legitimation" (Junker 1998: 295).

Additionally, trade had been taking place between the Philippines and mainland Southeast Asia through Chinese trade vessels even before the Philippine colonial period. Chinese historical texts referred to the Philippine *datus* and *barangays* as powerful tributary polities. Written as early as the 10th century AD, these Chinese records and imperial trade accounts describe "tributary missions" made by Philippine polities to the Chinese court. These missions were attempted by *datus* in *barangays* such as *Ma-I, P'u-tuan, Sulu* and *Maguindanao*, who did so in the hopes of receiving favored trade status with China (Junker 1998: 295). These records shed important light on how Chinese rulers viewed the political situation within the archipelago, with particular

[10] *Tarsila*s are some of the most important Philippine sources for Islamic oral traditions of genealogical accounts of aristocratic families, including those of the *datus, rajas,* and *sultans*. For more information on this, see Jimenez, Donoso (2010).

emphasis on "the changing political landscape… specific export commodities [from]… each polit[y], and their specific luxury good preferences" (Junker 1998: 296). Another piece of literature that is particularly important is the 13th century *Chu Fan Chih*, which translates as "An Account of the Various Barbarians" written by Chao Ju-Kua (1170-1231). Because of their strong cosmological belief in China's imperial blessing, most Chinese accounts are Sino-centric and exhibit a perspective that views trade relationships with other nations as tributary to their empire. Junker argues that the "Chinese had considerable difficulty in sorting out which Southeast Asian rulers actually held the significant regional political sway and controlled the vast volumes of trade exports they invariably claimed for themselves in their visits to the Chinese court" (Junker 1998: 296). This shift in trade relations was exacerbated by the fact that Chinese administrators did not make diplomatic voyages to the various polities across Southeast Asia until late in the 13th century. This issue heightens the importance of understanding Chinese references to the Philippine polities along with the consideration of the political environment in Southeast Asia during this period.

Moreover, because of the long maritime contact China had with its Southeast Asian neighbors, cultural practices like animist or cultic rituals and Islamic traditions that might have been viewed as "alien" and foreign to European scholars were described as powerful forms of political integration, rather than negatively as uncivilized practices. Interestingly, past studies of trade volume and quantity have shown that "a larger number of polities participated, that a higher frequency of voyages occurred by individual polities, and that the accompanying entourages and export cargoes were more elaborate during periods of increased political fragmentation and interpolity trade competition," (Junker 1998: 302) which may indicate that overall, in the highland populations of the Philippines or the more secluded provinces that were not under Spanish control, like Mindanao, trade with China must have continued even during the Spanish era.

During the 14th through 18th centuries, the main maritime powers were the Spanish and Dutch, particularly after the arrival of the Spanish in the archipelago in 1521 and the Dutch attacks that began in 1646 (Junker, 1998: 302). These two competing European powers were expanding their trade networks very quickly, and thus facilitated trade within Southeast Asia. Many items, and in particular ceramic wares, were transported from the Americas and Europe to Asia on Dutch and Spanish ships. Spanish and early European primary sources also comprise the largest body of literary evidence that was written about contact period Philippine societies. These accounts portray the Philippine *barangays* as chaotic kingdoms with powerless chiefs. Many documents were written by colonial administrators as a part of the *Relaciones Geograficas*, which were a "series of reports on annexed lands in the New World and Asia commanded by the Spanish monarch Phillip II" (Junker 1998: 298). The texts focused on aspects related to "geography, climate, exploitable natural resources, indigenous tributary systems, and military technologies but said little about social organization, household subsistence and craft production, local trade systems, and other less immediate concerns" (Junker 1998: 298). Not surprisingly, these texts indicate that the Spanish viewed the Philippine islands as an extension of Spanish colonial rule and emphasized concepts such as patronage, tribute, and sacrifice. Many letters of correspondence also exist between European voyagers and other colonial administrators. In contrast to Chinese texts that inflated the scale and complexity of Philippine *barangays*, many Spanish accounts completely "discount any centralized political authority" (Junker 1998: 305). The European view that the Philippine *barangays* were disorganized and backwards stems largely from the power struggles that were rooted in southern Philippine and highland provincial resistance. For instance, in a number of polities in Mindanao and Ifugao, the indigenous populations prided themselves in resisting the political rule of the Spaniards. That interpretation then leads these communities to appear as

unconquered and undeveloped to Spanish authors who, at that time, believed that development was linear and could only be attained through emulation.

Implications for Trade Pathways and Networks Involving the Philippines

These varying views of Philippine political powers during the colonial era show the dichotomy of colonial perspectives. While some maritime powers saw the Philippine city-states as powerful and independent, others viewed them as tributary. These greatly impact how trade relationships functioned within these networks, and have important implications for the type and quantity of material culture that will be discussed later in this paper. As Junker (1998) concisely states,

> Malay texts, Philippine oral traditions, Chinese tributary records and geographies, early Spanish writings, and archaeological evidence…. represent divergent views of political structures and political economies in Philippine chiefdoms of the late first millennium to the mid-second millennium A.D. While some sources claim a political landscape dominated by a few large-scale, highly centralized polities almost wholly supported through foreign trade, others suggest the presence of more heterogeneous and politically segmented configurations of varying scale and complexity with eclectic economic bases. (Junker 1998: 291)

The polyphony of sources I use in this thesis helps create a broader and more inclusive picture of how these historical sources and the archaeological record impact our understanding of Philippine pre- and post-colonial trade. The continuity and change among the political structures and trade relationships across the archipelago foreshadows the effects of the Spanish colonial era on the Philippines—with outcomes that vary based on location, culture, and people. Linking the question of trade back to the initial objective of this thesis, this background knowledge enables us to be better equipped to identify the different phases of socioeconomic impact that the Spanish colonization had on various regions of the Philippine archipelago. This awareness of varying

political and power relations both within the archipelago and among its neighbors plays an important role in my analysis. There has been a tendency in the archaeological scholarship to extrapolate patterns and models that have been observed at main cities, like Manila, Calatagan, Cebu, Tanjay, and Butuan, for which an abundance of material culture has been excavated, to the Philippine archipelago at large. One of the main themes of this thesis is the uniqueness of each island and each polity in terms of trade relations, economic, political, and social environment, as well as maritime interactions. The diversity in "scale, complexity, ecological setting, economic orientation, and evolutionary trajectories of these ethnically and linguistically distinct island polities" are emphasized both in the archaeological evidence I have briefly outlined, as well as the historical documents written from different perspectives (Junker 1998: 315). This chapter sets the stage and provides us with the tools to better analyze the trade ware that will be discussed later on.

Tables and Figures:

Figure 3.1: A Map of the Philippine Archipelago with its Major Lithic Archaeological Sites, from Edoumba E.P., et al. (2011)

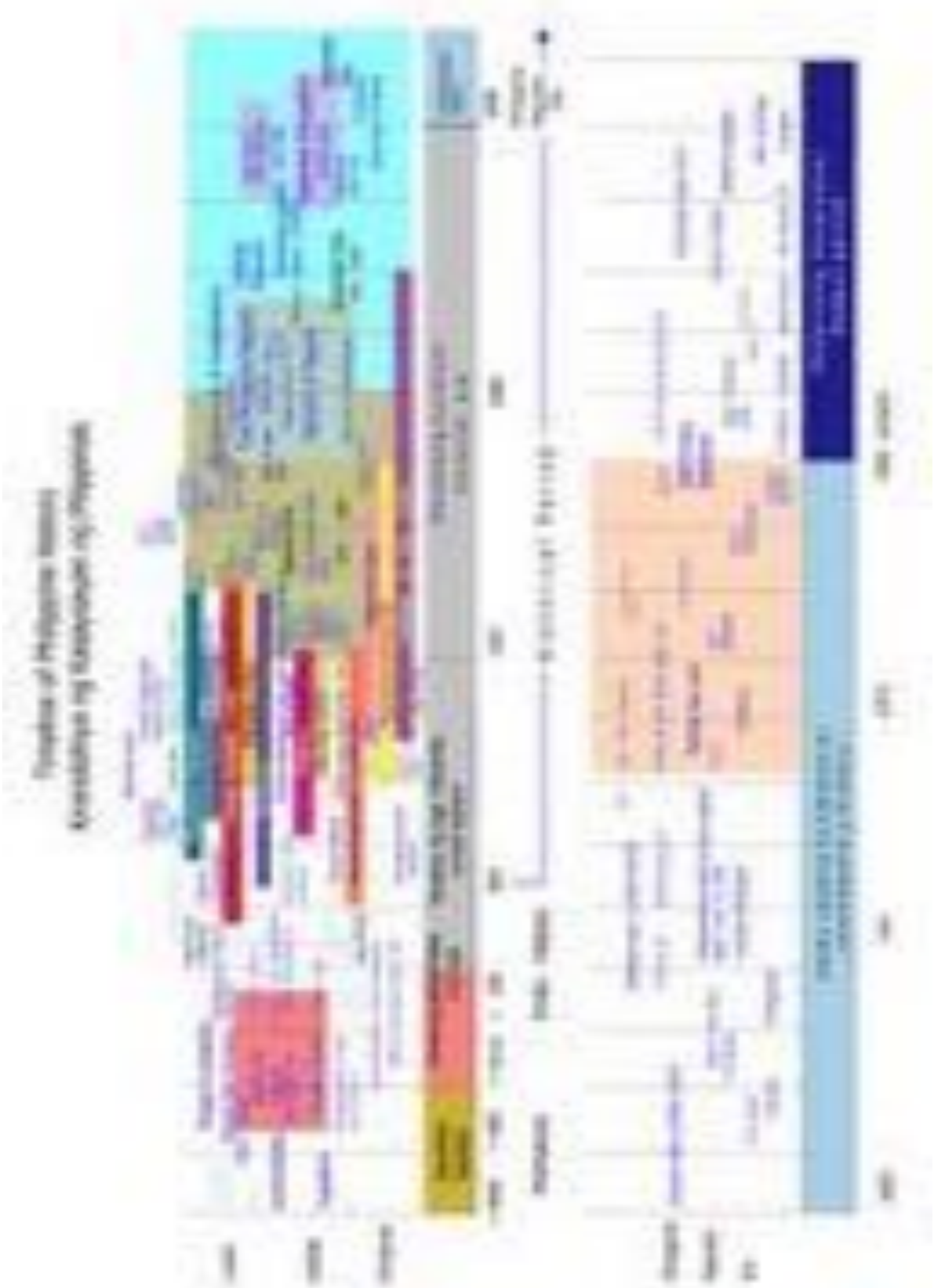

Figure 3.2: Brief Timeline of Philippine History from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_Philippine_history

Figure 3. 3: A photo of Philippine National Heroes (from left: Jose Rizal, Marcelo Del Pilar, Mariano Ponce). Much of the early archaeological work on Spanish sites focused on reconstructing Philippine history and heritage. Image from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/

Figure 3.4: Spanish-style architecture from the Walled City of Intramuros. Much research and excavation has been focused on this post-contact site because of its historical and cultural relevance to Philippine national history. Image from http://responsibletravell

Figure 3.5: Philippine Map including the location of Philippine polities, from Junker (1998). Location of 8th to 14th century Philippine polities known through Chinese tributary records and archaeological excavations. Foreign porcelain finds are also shown on the map.

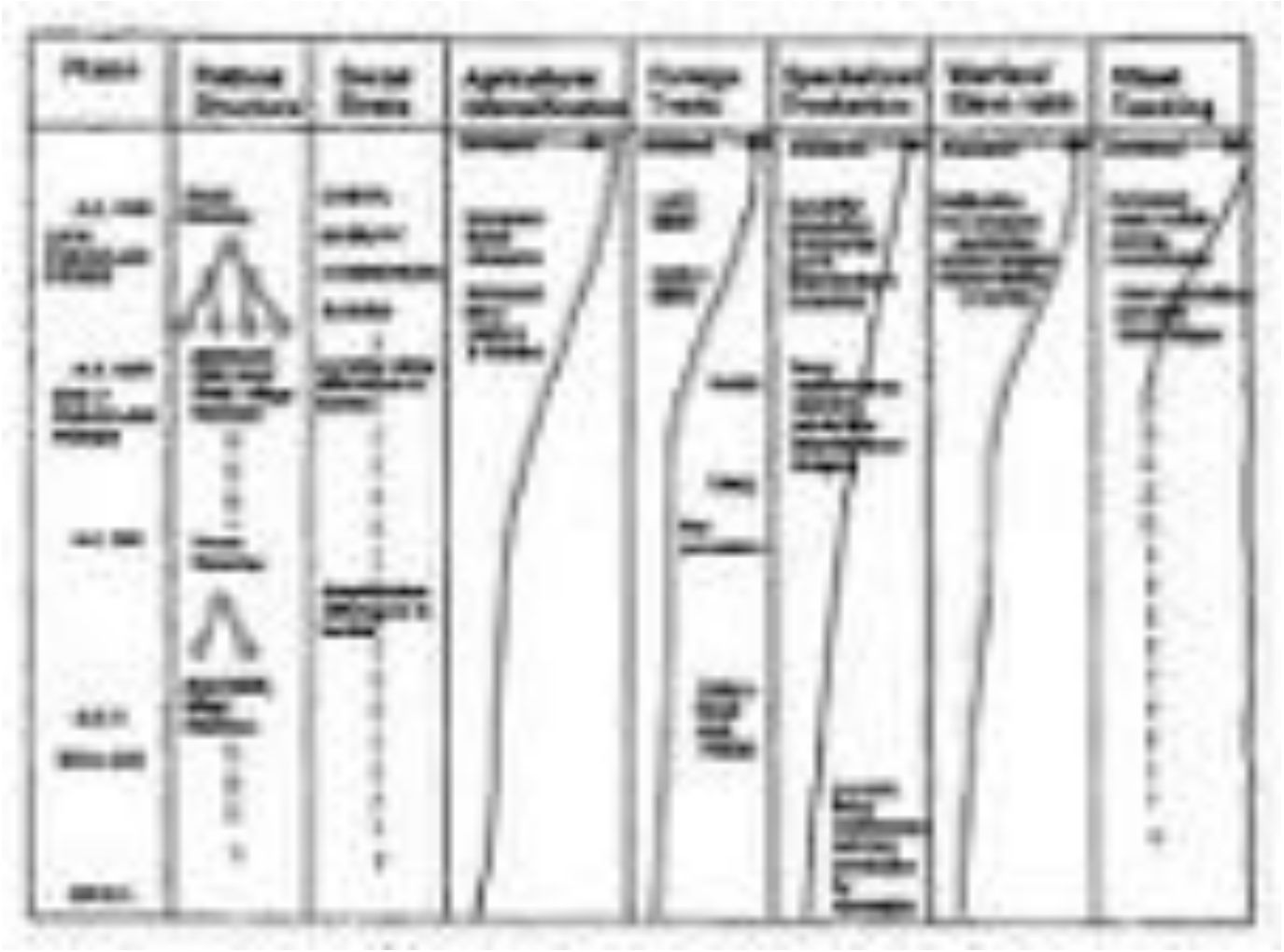

Figure 3.6: A Brief Summary of changes in sociopolitical organization and aspects of chiefly political economy, in Philippine complex societies over the two millennium prior to European contact (from Junker 1998).

Figure 3.7: A page from the Boxer Codex depicting the clothing and cultural styles found around the archipelago.

Figure 3.8: Philippine map that shows the locations of the polities known from the 14th to 16th centuries, from Junker (1998). Map of the locations from 14th to mid 16th century Philippine polities known through Chinese tributary records and archaeological excavations. Also includes finds of Ming Period Chinese and mainland Southeast Asian porcelains.

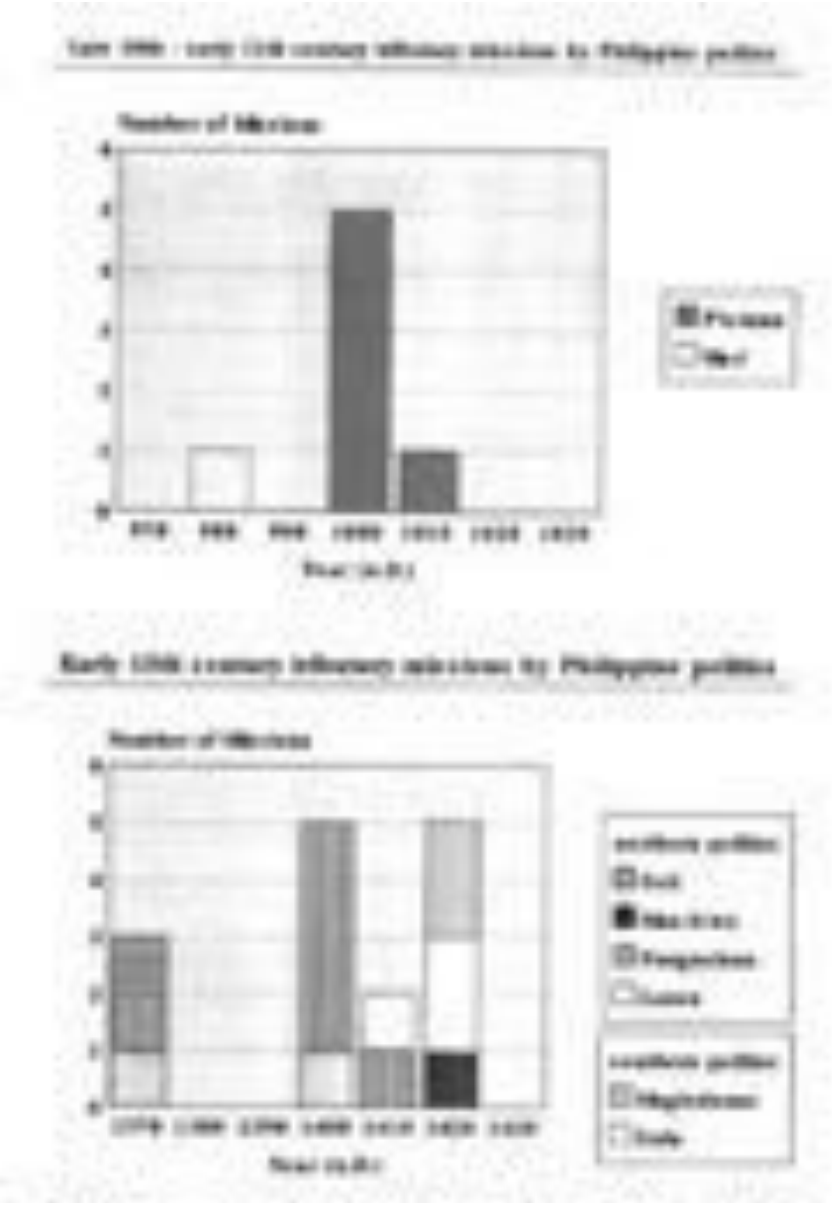

Figure 3.9: The number of tributary missions in the Philippines from the 10th to the 15th centuries, from Junker (1998).

Figure 3.10: Cities and Political Divisions in Southeast Asia during the 15th Century, from Reed (1979) (Map 1).

CHAPTER IV: Chinese Ceramics

Introduction

One of the most prevalent types of ceramics found across the Philippine archipelago is Chinese porcelain produced during the Ming Period (1368-1644). Coinciding with the time frame of before, during, and after the Spanish Era, the diversity and abundance of Chinese Ming porcelain provides an excellent dataset to study changes and trends in international trade and production. This chapter is organized as follows: In the first part, I give a brief introduction to Chinese ceramic types and the nature of Ming porcelain. In the second part, I discuss research on two porcelain data sets, the Ming ceramics found in the Guthe Collection of the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan, and in the Ayala Museum. In the third part, I study the implications these ceramic trends have on trade networks and the Philippines' participation in these trade networks over time. Lastly, this chapter closes with a discussion that aims to summarize my findings about Ming ceramics in the Philippines from these two data sets.

The guiding questions this chapter aims to answer are the following: 1) Did the Spanish Era have a visible impact on trade networks involving Chinese trade porcelain in the Philippine archipelago? 2) What patterns in Ming porcelain trade can be observed over time, and how much of this change or continuity can we attribute to political changes within the Philippines?

A Brief Overview of Chinese Ceramic Types

Porcelain production and consumption have a long history in China. Porcelain production in each period varies, and porcelain usually can be seriated based on the typical vessel forms, structure, and glazes of these wares. During the time of the Five Dynasties (906-960 AD), especially in the kiln sites of Jingdezhen which eventually became one of the largest sources of ceramics in the Yuan and Ming Periods, most of the porcelain that was produced was of the greenish-blue celadon type (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum 1992: 35). Because of the political uprisings that occurred during the prior Tang Dynasty, fractionalization of authority and struggles for socio-political control became prominent in the Five Dynasties—turbulent years that saw a mushrooming of short-lived independent kingdoms in northern China and a period of political chaos (Valenstein 1975: 79). Despite this heightened civil unrest, ceramic production remained somewhat consistent, and can be viewed as "bridging the gap between the tastes of the Tang and Song dynasties" (Valenstein 1975: 79). Many of the forms and decorative elements of the ceramic types in this period exhibit elements that are common or present in either the Tang and Song Dynasties. Of particular importance are the *Yue wares*, produced in the kiln complexes of Zhejiang Province, and the *white wares*, which were produced in the Jiancicun kilns in Quyang, Hebei Province, both of which peaked at this period and are abundant in the archaeological evidence (Valenstein 1975: 80-81).

Blue-and-white ceramic production began after the introduction of cobalt blue to China by Arabic or Persian traders in the 9th century.[11] Initially, these blue-and-white ceramics were manufactured for export purposes, usually called *kraak* porcelain, rather than import or internal

[11] This is evidenced by the discovery of underglaze blue ware in Tang City in Yangzhou, and on the Belitung shipwreck in Indonesia. For a more detailed discussion of this, see Li, 2013, p. 45.

use within Chinese households.[12] During the Song Dynasty (960-1279), almost all the kilns in Jingdezhen stopped producing celadon and instead focused on creating white and *qingbai* wares (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum 1992: 36). Founded by Zhao Kuangyin, the Song Dynasty consisted of two phases; the Northern Song Era (960-1127) during which the main provinces of China were united with a capital at Bianjing (Kaifeng, Henan Province), and the second phase of the Song dynasty, when China was divided, and ruled partially by the Jurchen (Jin Dynasty) (Valenstein 1975: 83-85). These political events influenced the characteristics and artistic symbolism found on ceramics produced throughout the country. "Unlike that of the Tang, which was marked by a considerable absorption of Western influences, the culture of the Song dynasty was essentially introverted… Within its borders, however, the country experienced a time of relative peace and tranquility," which was reflected in Chinese art, architecture, and pottery (Valenstein 1975: 83). The ceramics produced during this period had a "quiet elegance" and were more refined with glazes, symbolic of the muted tones of nature, and with a preference for stronger colors and bolder decorations (Valenstein 1975: 83-84).

During the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), the types of ceramics produced had a lower quality in terms of the paste and glaze than those produced during in the Southern Song, and the wares that were created were of both fine and coarse product types—a marked contrast from the Song Dynasty productions (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum 1992: 37). This change in quality could have been due to the increased demand for these ceramics, but more probably, it was because of the change in political control. "The fine products included cream-white porcelain and blue-and-white wares with white bodies and a glossy glaze, such as *shu-fu* bowls and dishes and blue-and-white wares" (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic

[12] Swatow ware is another term which is used a lot in the literature. Defined form the process with which it was formed with.

Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum 1992: 37). To test the pigment level of these products, one method was the use of a rod called the *tou-qing*, which literally means "blue of the first-grade" (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum 1992: 39). This meant that the blue pigment used was the most pure, and a higher level of purity entailed a higher quality. At the time of the Mongolian Empire, the production of these blue-and-white ceramics were revived, and thus became more available to the international market, "adding to the inventory of celadon, bluish white, white ware, and black ware" which were already present in the Southeast Asian and Western Asian ceramic markets (Li 2013: 45). The Yuan Dynasty shows a shift from the Song-style ceramics to a Mongol and foreign patronage market (Valenstein 1975: 123). The early blue-and-white porcelain of this period were painted with an underglaze blue, and were generally made through the use of painting designs in cobalt oxide on an unbaked body of pottery which was then covered in clear glaze (Valenstein 1975: 129). The first few blue-and-white wares of this period clearly show a link with the *shufu* and *qingbai* wares, particularly through their combination of types and mold-impressed interior designs (Valenstein 1975: 129). These blue-and-white family of wares were found across Southeast Asia, and could also come in the form of ceramics distinguished by floral motifs, also called "sketchy-flower", because they sometimes looked like they were decorated in a hurry (Valenstein 1975: 130).

During the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), the time period of particular relevance to this study, there were both imperial and provincial kilns that produced blue-and-white ceramics. These kilns extended across the whole city and were functioning in Jingdezhen throughout the 17th century (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum 1992: 39).[13]

[13] Ming shards discovered outside the west wall of Zhushan, China, give us a glimpse into the broad strata of ceramics discovered here. The first stratum consists of artefacts that originated from the imperial kilns of the Chenghua period, bearing the double circle mark consistent with Chenghua's reign. The second stratum consists of fragments of large suli-ma blue blue-and-white ceramics decorated by dragons, and the third stratum includes *doucai* dishes decoreated

Through the expeditious spread of globalization, Chinese blue-and-white ceramic porcelain made its way across world markets, and allowed it to become the most prominent type of tradeware after the 15th century, "attesting to its key role as a symbol of prestige and colonial identity" (Li 2013: 45). The Ming Dynasty rose after fratricidal struggles in the Mongol clan tore apart the Yuan Dynasty (Valenstein 1975: 151). During this time period, kilns in Jingdezhen, Jiagxi Province, were the center of ceramic manufacturing and served as the ceramic metropolis still prevalent today (Valenstein 1975: 151). The complexity of the underglaze-blue Ming ceramics is further discussed by He Li (2006) through a study of the various motifs, shapes, blue color, and kiln sites of a number of pieces from the Ming Dynasty Era. Traditionally, these slight variations in blue-and-white wares were divided by the emperor under which they were produced, including the first late 14th century blue-and-white porcelains, early 15th century Yongle blue-and-white wares, Xuande blue-and-white wares, Chenghua blue-and-white wares, 16th century Zhengde blue-and-white wares, mid-16th century Jiajing blue-and-white wares, and late 16th and early 17th century Wanli blue-and-white wares (Valenstein 1975: 151- 210). "The theme of tradition and innovation in Chinese ceramics that had been sustained since primeval times is especially apparent in Ming ware… [ceramics] painted in underglaze cobalt-blue, a legacy from the Yuan period [were refined] into exquisite blue-and-white wares; ornamental techniques such as painting in overglaze enamels, seen earlier on other wares, were used… on fine porcelain bodies" (Valenstein 1975: 151-152). The Ming blue-and-white wares exemplify the rich ceramic culture of China, and see the amalgamation of all of these historic elements coming together to create beautiful and culturally rich ceramic pieces.

with ducks and lotus pond motifs. (Jingdezhen Institute of Ceramic Archaeology and The Fung Ping Shan Museum, 1992, p. 41).

Data Sets: Ceramic Trends

I use two main data sets in my analysis of Ming porcelain: namely, the Guthe Collection at the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan's Philippine ceramic section, and the Ayala Museum's Roberto Villanueva Millennium of Contact Exhibition and Ceramics Study Center. The main references used for the ceramic analysis of these collections are studies done by Min Li (2013) for the Guthe Collection at the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan, and Rita Tan (2016) for the Ayala Museum collections. I was also able to visit the Ayala Museum collections in person in late January 2017.

Ming Porcelain in the Guthe Collection

The Guthe Collection at the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan is comprised of Asian trade ceramics collected by Carl Guthe on his expedition between 1922 and 1925. "Despite [Carl Guthe's] lack of experience with Asian materials… he undertook the expedition with the 'definite purpose of gathering additional data upon [*sic*] the commercial relations between the Filipinos and Asiatic civilizations'" (Li 2013: 52). Guthe and his team of University of Michigan archaeologists collected more than 15,000 artifacts from 542 discrete archaeological sites. Specifically, the Guthe Collection is comprised of 8,600 ceramic vessels and vessel fragments, most of which date from the 14th through the 16th centuries. These vessels and vessel fragments were excavated from open-field burial grounds and caves that were previously used by generations of native people for burial purposes.

Of these 8,600 ceramic vessels, over 1000 pieces were Chinese blue-and-white porcelain vessels and fragments dating from the 14th through the 17th centuries. Li (2013) uses this collection in particular because of the richness of the data set. He mentions that "the level of information for

the collection, particularly on site location and content, is extraordinary for the period in which this collection was made. Even today, it is rare to have this much detail concerning recovery locations for many, if not most, collections of Asian archaeological materials." (Li 2013: 52). In particular, the precision and extent of the Guthe Collection, as well as the detail in which data was recorded, allows the study of broad trends, along with an analysis of differing local and regional "processes of sociopolitical change" (Li 2013: 52). The Guthe Collection's ample assortment of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain vessels date from before and after the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, and were excavated mostly from the southern end of the archipelago.

Work done by Li on this expansive and extensive collection shows that "after Spanish colonization, native power was probably reduced and reconfigured… [as seen through] the decline in both the quality… and… quantity" of the Late Ming blue-and-white porcelain (Li 2013: 67). These findings directly support the conclusion of my thesis since most of the Guthe Collection Late Ming finds were excavated from more provincial and remote populations, which I hypothesized would experience a decrease in trade during the Spanish era.

The dataset used in Min's study focuses on the sites of Cave C and Burial B, as described in Guthe's field catalog. These sites were chosen because they collectively contributed the largest portion of imported ceramics in the Guthe Collection and they were better recorded as compared to the other ceramic collections. Thus, Li argues that these two particular sites serve as reliable representations of "the overall universe of the blue-and-white porcelain from the southern Philippines," (Li 2013: 53).[14]

Li's methodology of analysis of 720 vessels from 78 sites comprised four steps; (1) dating of the porcelain specimens, (2) identification of origin of production, (3) analysis of specimen

[14]For a more detailed discussion about why this particular data set was chosen, see page 53 of Li (2013) *Fragments of Globalization: Archaeological Porcelain and the Early Colonial Dynamics in the Philippines*.

quality, (4) quantitative documentation of "changing patterns in quality and region of production across major phases of the Ming period for caves and burial sites" (Li 2013: 53).

To date the blue-and-white ceramic ware, Li studied three variables; the paste, the glaze, and the stylistic characteristics of each specimen. The periodization consists of several major time periods, namely; Yuan, Early Ming, Middle Ming, Late Ming, and the Transitional Period.[15]

A comparison of the quantity and distribution of Ming ceramics before and after the Spanish Era yields fruitful yet inconclusive information. Li (2013) observes that the porcelain trade in Asia increased drastically after the 13th century, as did the number of Chinese Ming porcelain pieces found in the Philippine archipelago. Trade ceramics were incorporated into Philippine provincial ritual and political contexts, and were used for feasts associated with life crises, ritual calendar events, and community ceremonies, some of which can also be seen in the succeeding collection found in the Ayala Museum (Li 2013: 52). The distribution of these blue-and-white trade ceramics varies greatly across the archipelago over time, and it is difficult to say whether the trend in the quantity of Ming ceramics found in the Philippines is more influenced by the effects of the Spanish Era, or of the events which were taking place within China. "Chinese imports dating from the thirteenth century… first peaked during the first half of the fourteenth century, then peaked again twice more in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century and late sixteenth century to early seventeenth century" (Li 2013: 52). During this time period, then, the overall quantity of blue-and-white Chinese porcelain traded within Southeast Asia dating from the 15th and 16th centuries increased.[16]

[15]See my attached Asian ceramic timeline for more details on this. The timeline is based on Li's findings, along with other research described in this paper.

[16] Despite this market-wide increase, excavations in Cebu, the Philippines provided only sparse evidence for Early Ming period porcelains.

Examining the quality of Ming porcelain before and after the Spanish Era, on the other hand, is more conclusive. Li's (2013) research shows that there were changes in the quality of the Chinese porcelain excavated in the Philippines. In particular, "the diverse forms present prior to the fifteenth century were gradually reduced to a more narrow range of serving vessels (primarily plates and shallow bowls) by the Late Ming period" (Li 2013: 52). According to Junker (1998), this change in the quality and typology of wares found for this time period could suggest changing political dynamics. In particular, the large quantities of high quality wares of diverse varieties could suggest that these were initially made for nobility, high ranking elite, or members of society who had a high socio-economic class and who could afford these items. The newer and later influx of ceramic wares from competing Chinese, Annamese, and Siamese kilns in the 15th and 16th centuries may indicate the rising importance of imported porcelains in the local Philippine economic context, "with large cargoes of homogenous and less attractive wares intended for the growing market of lesser nobility, commoners of distinction, interior tribal leaders, and others in alliance or client relations with chiefs" (Li 2013: 52).

Ming Porcelain in the Ayala Museum

The Roberto T. Villanueva Collection, curated by Rita Tan of the Ayala Museum, is one of the most "comprehensive collections of Chinese and Southeast trade wares found in the Philippines" (Tan 2016a: 6). The 500 pieces featured in this collection date from the 9th century to the 19th century, spanning from the pre-colonial era to after Spanish times. The Roberto T. Villanueva Collection is "representative of the different groups of ceramics from China and Southeast Asia traded to the Philippines over a thousand years" (Tan 2016: 6). Although the collection contains an extensive and diverse set of artifacts, one drawback is that, because most of

these pieces were donated from the personal collection of Roberto Villanueva, the documentation of the sites in which they were found in is sparse. Thus, an overall comparison of the quantity and quality of this data set may not be as useful due to the limited number of complete data entries. These blue-and-white Ming porcelain will then instead be used as individual case studies to see if Li's (2013) analysis of the Guthe data set also applies on a larger scale to other similar ceramics. Particularly in the Ming Period (1368-1644), this type of blue-and-white ceramic ware was produced mainly in Jingdezhen, artifacts from which comprise much of the Ayala Museum collection (Tan 2016a: 19). As exports increased in the late Ming period, the production of blue-and-white Ming porcelain spread to other kiln sites including Dehua, Anxi, Zhangzhou, as well as other kilns in Minnan or southern Fukian, and Raoping and the Dapu kilns in Guangdong.

The map on *Figure 4.1* and *Figure 4.2* shows some of the known kiln sites within China at this time. A number of the ceramics displayed at the Ayala Museum were found in the southern part of the archipelago, Mindanao (see *Figures 4.12, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.17, 4.18, 4.19*). As evidenced by these finds, we can see that there was a continuous flow of ceramic ware from Jingdezhen to Mindanao from the 14th century to the 17th centuries. Jingdezhen produced large quantities of blue-and-white porcelain that were specifically manufactured for export (Finlay 1998: 156). Ceramic wares from Fujian were also found in Mindanao from the 16th to 19th centuries. These blue-and-white ceramics can be seen to have been a commodity that was consistently traded throughout the duration of the Spanish era, despite the change in political relations. Thus, this evidence supports my initial argument that trade relations in the Philippines were based on *barangays*, which were largely affected by the political relations between *datus* and other clan leaders rather than the overall colonial rule of the Spaniards. Despite the Spanish trade regulations which may have been implemented during their sovereignty, it is clear that trade between China

and some parts of the Philippine archipelago did not cease. In terms of studying these pieces individually, only a cursory analysis is possible. As seen from the figures at the end of the chapter, it seems as if the quality of these ceramics did not decline over time, based on the intricacy of the pattern motif, the polish of the glaze, and the purity of the blue color.

It is important to note that these select pieces from the Ayala Museum were probably on display because of the quality of the material and the preservation of the ceramics. Moreover, as previously mentioned both in this chapter and in Chapter 3, although the data used for analysis provides a useful cross-section of the ceramics found in the Philippines, it is by no means conclusive or absolute, since there are many more ceramic collections that house Ming porcelain excavated in the Philippines that I was not able to include in the current study.

Trade Networks

Ming Ceramics found in the Guthe Collection at the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan as well as the Ayala Museum provide important insight on how trade patterns changed during the Spanish Era. Li's (2013) research provides an important perspective for analyzing the effects and process of globalization while taking into consideration the colonial integration (or lack of integration) of the Philippines with their Western colonizers. By studying the dynamic patterns of how material culture was distributed, represented, and engaged in within native societies, Li provides an alternative non-Eurocentric perspective to colonization in the Philippines. Particularly relevant is his study of the various trade relationships the Philippines had with neighboring countries as evidenced by ceramic exchange. Similar to the goal of my thesis, Li (2013) examines "porcelain consumption and exchange in the Philippines, before and after Spanish colonization of the archipelago," (Li 2013: 51). Taking into consideration

the aforementioned descriptions of the trade relationships the Philippines had with Vietnam and Japan, Li's work consolidates information about the archipelago's relationship with bordering nations, thus providing a big picture overview of Philippine trade relationships.[17]

Moreover, after the trade ban imposed on Chinese merchants trading with other international partners during the Ming period, "only official trade in the form of tributary missions was allowed [and thus] the restricted trading activities consequently lead to a marked decline in the export of Chinese ceramics… in the 15th century. This shortage of supply of Chinese ceramics in the Asian market… enabled both Vietnam and Thailand… to become major exporters of ceramics in the region" (Tan 2016: 22). Trade ceramics in the Philippine archipelago had a religious and social significance, and were also a means of displaying political power (Li 2013: 67). Thus, if these blue-and-white Ming porcelain can be used as reliable proxies of native involvement in the "traditional Asiatic trade network", then it can be argued that their distribution across the excavated burial sites in the Philippines shows that "after Spanish colonization, native power was probably reduced and reconfigured", as manifested in the decline of the quality of imported blue-and-white porcelain, as well as the quantity of its distribution across the archipelago, as observed in the Late Ming period features (Li 2013: 67).

Li (2013) cites a number of factors that could have reduced native agency within international trade networks; loss of native control of major port cities to the Spanish authorities, "interruption of native political relations by the imposition of a colonial administration; later reduction of cargo value due to Dutch piracy; and finally the redefinition of the Philippines in Asian and global trade structures" because of its new role as a part of the New World silver trade (Li 2013: 68). The demand for New World silver was extremely high during the time of the Manila

[17] Their work will be discussed in more detail in the Vietnam and Japan chapters.

Galleon trade, and because of the increased competition for this silver, the demand for native Chinese products being traded diminished (Li 2013: 67). Chinese kiln-produced porcelain that were initially manufactured for foreign royalty could now be traded in the Philippines for much less—because the port of Manila served as an exchange center for New World silver. "If control of trade had been, as has been argued, a key component of wealth and political power among Philippine elites, they now lost both their political base and source of income" (Li 2013: 67).

Discussion and Significance

The overarching implications of these trends in ceramic trade, production, and consumption indicate that Spanish colonization did in fact influence Chinese ceramic trade networks in the Philippine archipelago. The different data sets indicate variations in the quantity and quality of the ceramic-ware found in the Philippine archipelago before and after the Spanish Era. In at least some case studies, for example among the Guthe ceramics, there is a clear distinction between the type and characteristics of ceramics found prior to and after the Spanish Era. Moreover, differential trading patterns across the archipelago, as evidenced by the frequency of the finds in Mindanao, Ifugao, and other Philippine regions support the point that maritime trade in the archipelago was highly influenced by personal connections between certain provinces and their network of trade partners. For example, despite the Ming court imposition of a trade ban on Chinese merchants engaging in foreign trade, we still find evidence of Ming porcelain in Mindanao and Batangas, to name a few places.

The importance of Chinese porcelain as a trade good as well as an indication and possibly a proxy for socio-economic conditions within the Philippine archipelago is evident in both of the data sets discussed in this chapter. "For over a thousand years, Chinese porcelain was the most

universally admired and most widely imitated product in the world. It influenced virtually all ceramic traditions it encountered… reaching deeply into indigenous religious and social life" (Finaly 1998: 143). More than just evidence of the prolific trade and the continuous and sustained cultural and social interactions between Philippine *barangays* and their neighboring countries, a study of the Chinese-Philippine ceramic trade provides important insight into how this trade network impacted indigenous societies within the Philippines. Pottery has been an important part of Philippine socio-cultural heritage, and the histories of religious ceremonies that have surrounded pottery and ceramic use in the Philippines are rich and extensive. As pinpointed by Finlay (1998):

> "To societies that made only terracotta, porcelain, with its ethereal qualities and enigmatic designs, was not merely a functional commodity but a talismanic substance to be comprehended in exalted terms. The peoples of the archipelago viewed porcelain vessels as communal entities imbued with cosmological power, not as utilitarian articles for the domestic economy. Furthermore, since they vessels came to the islands as precious foreign commodities, they took on great political and symbolic significance… the peoples of Borneo and the Philippines saw them in magical terms. The jars were given names inducted into clans, married to each other, buried with ceremony, and passed down through generations." (Finlay 1998: 162-163)

Thus, we can see that the socioeconomic impact of the Spanish colonization was far-reaching, yet diverse. The continuity and change in the trade routes as well as the trade networks between the Philippine archipelago and Chinese junks puts forth the importance of maintaining social and cultural connections with other *barangay* leaders and regions. Some Philippine regions like Mindanao experienced continued trade in the form of Chinese porcelain, yet other regions had a more controlled trading regime. The overall effects of the Chinese-Philippine ceramic trade contributed, on a larger scale, to Philippine history, heritage, and religion.

TABLES AND FIGURES IV:

Figure 4.1: Chinese Kiln Sites Part 1, 1400-1600 from Valenstein 1975

Figure 4.2: Chinese Archaeological Sites, 1600-1800 Part 2 from Valenstein 1975.

Figure 4.3: Porcelain bowl painted in underglaze blue. Ming Dynasty, Xuande mark and period, 1426-35. from Valenstein 1975 (Image 150).

Figure 4.4: Covered Box, Porcelain painted in underglaze blue. Ming dynasty, Jiajing mark and period, 1522-66, from Valenstein 1975 (Image 168).

Figure 4.5: The Chronology of Chinese Dynasties and Periods, from Valenstein 1975.

Figure 4.6: Rim Fragment from a Jingdezhen Kraak porcelain with panel design (B15-6); UMMA 18458, from Li Li (2013).

PERIOD	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	TYPE IV	TYPE V	TOTAL
Mid Ming	1 (1.2%)	11 (12.8%)	40 (46.5%)	25 (29.1%)	9 (10.5%)	86
Late Ming	28 (8.5%)	91 (27.5%)	68 (20.5%)	104 (31.5%)	40 (12.1%)	331

Figure 4.7: Summary of the quality distribution for blue-and-white porcelain in all burial sites, as excavated by Li Li (2013); from Li (2013) Table 2.

Figure 4.8: Quality Distribution of Ming Porcelain in Philippine Cave Sites organized by Period, from the Guthe Collection, as seen in Li (2013).

Figure 4.9: Part 1- Quality Distribution of Ming Porcelain in Burial Sites in the Philippines, from the Guthe Collection, as seen in Min Lii (2013).

	TYPE I	TYPE II	TYPE III	TYPE IV	TYPE V
B113LM				1	
B114LM				1	
B115LM				1	
B116LM			1		
B126LM				1	
B128LM				1	
B129 LM	4	1	1	2	
B132LM				2	
B133LM				3	1

Figure 4.10: Part 2- Quality Distribution of Ming Porcelain in Burial Sites in the Philippines, from the Guthe Collection, as seen in Min Li (2013).

Figure 4.11: Blue-and-white dishes with standing phoenix designs; from Zhangzhou, Fujian, Ca. 16th-17th century; found in Mindanao, Philippines, courtesy of the Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection in the Ayala Museum (CAT. No. RTV-CGV BW-92).

Figure 4.12: Blue-and-white dishes with floral design, provenanced from Zhangzhou, Fujian; Ca. 16th-17th century; found in Calatagan, Batangas, Philippines. Courtesy of the Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection, Ayala Museum (CAT. No. RTV-CGV BW-25).

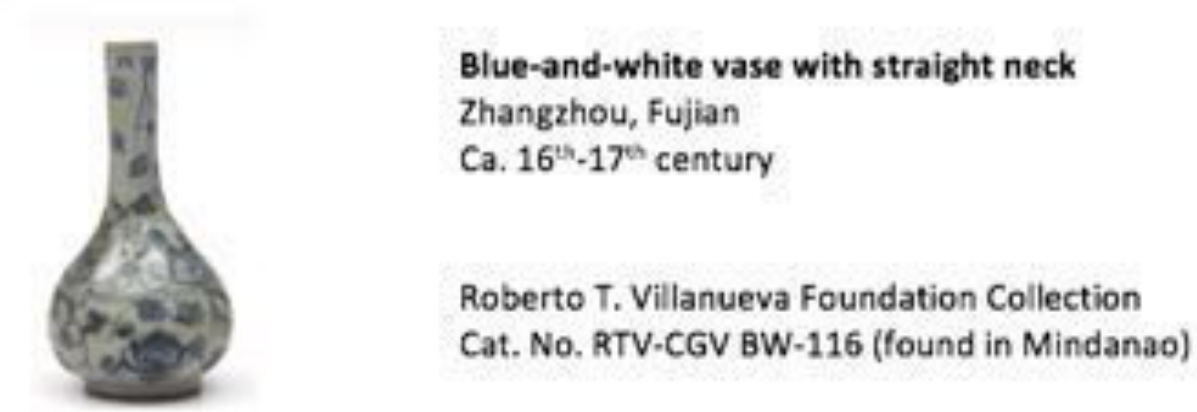

Figure 4.13: Blue-and-white Vase from the Ayala Museum.

Blue-and-white dish with stylized chrysanthemum design
Dehua, Fujian
Ca. 18th-19th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV BW-87 (found in Mindanao)

Figure 4.14: Blue and White Dish from the Ayala Museum, found in Mindanao.

Blue-and-white jar with spiraled peony
Zhangzhou, Fujian
Ca. 16th-17th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV BW-94 (found in Mindanao)

Figure 4.15: Blue and White Jar found in Mindanao, courtesy of the Ayala Museum.

Blue-and-white crescent-shaped pouring vessel with floral designs on central spout
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi
Ca. late 15th-early 16th century

Similar piece was recovered from the Lena shipwreck.

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV BW-01 (found in Mindanao)

Figure 4.16: Blue-and-white crescent shaped pouring vessel from Jingdezhen kiln, found in Mindanao. Courtesy of the Ayala Museum.

Blue-and-white globular jarlets with varied designs
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi
14th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV BW-98 (found in Mindanao)

Figure 4.17: Blue and White Jarlet found in Mindanao, courtesy of the Ayala Museum.

Blue-and-white bottle with designed panels
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi
Ca. 16th-17th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV BW-96 (found in Mindanao)

Figure 4.18: Blue-and-white bottle found in Mindanao, courtesy of the Ayala Museum.

Blue-and-white yu-hu-chun vase with lotus blossom design
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi
14th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV BW-154 (found in Morong, Rizal)

Figure 4.19: Blue-and-white vase from the Ayala Collection, found in Morong, Rizal.

CHAPTER V: Japanese Ceramics

Introduction

Another type of ceramic-ware that was until recently assumed not to have reached Manila is Japanese porcelain. In a recent publication, Takenori Nogami (2006) discusses Hizen Porcelain exported from Nagasaki and found in Intramuros, Manila. In a comparison of porcelain and ceramic wares found in Intramuros and similar wares found on the American continent and other Asian countries surrounding Japan, Nogami concludes that it its highly probable that Hizen ware was imported into Manila from Chinese junks entering the ports for trade between the late 17th and the middle of the 18th century (Nogami 2006: 7). Nogami's piece supports the main argument of this thesis that Spanish colonization led to reduced trade within more provincial or economically-isolated areas. Through the decline in quality of the Hizen ware imported into the Philippines during and after the Spanish era, we can see that it might be useful to study Japanese ceramics as a proxy for the economic conditions in the Philippines.

In this chapter, two main data sets are studied—Nogami's detailed excavation notes on the Hizen porcelain found in Intramuros, and the Guthe Collection of the Ayala Museum's collection of Japanese ceramics. Information about other Japanese ceramics found across Southeast Asia as well as the Americas is also briefly discussed. This chapter is organized as follows: the first part is an overview that discusses the different types of Japanese porcelain, the second part talks about the trends of Japanese porcelain within the Philippine archipelago, and lastly, the discussion will address the implications of these trends on trade network and contact.

Background: Types of Japanese Porcelain

Japanese Hizen ceramic ware was originally produced by Korean artisans, after Hideyoshi Toyotomi, one of the most powerful *daimyo*s or feudal lords in the Momoyoma period (1573-1600), sent troops to the Korean peninsula in 1521-1598 to bring back skilled pottery-makers (Mikami 1972: 62). Stylistically, these Korean pottery-makers used techniques common to and originating from Korean ceramic production, but they also imitated and adapted Chinese Ming Dynasty porcelain styles because of the Japanese demand for these ceramic types. Mikami (1972) notes that it was actually only in 1616 that evidence of porcelain production was found in Japan, when "porcelain clays in Arita, Hizen Province, were first found and used by a group of Korean craftsmen under the leadership of master potter Ri Sampei (Yi Sam-p'yong), who had come to Japan at the time of Hideyoshi's Korean invasion" (Mikami 1972: 62).

In Arita (seen in *Figure 5.1)*, which was the center of Japan's porcelain industry during this time, the porcelain and earthenware that artisans produced were made mainly for export, and were often glazed over with enamel pigments (Japanese Pottery Information Center 2016: online; Mikami 1972: 76). It is important to note that the naming conventions for Japanese ceramics and porcelain is sometimes difficult to grasp. For example, Imari porcelain that was similarly produced in Arita was made for export to other Japanese cities and cross-Atlantic to Asia and Europe. Thus, Imari Ware is also sometimes called Arita Ware. Some scholars, like Nogami (2006), also consider Arita Ware as a type of Hizen Ware. Hizen Ware, in most cases, is used as a generic term that denotes porcelain made in the Hizen area, which includes Kyushu, Nagasaki, and the Saga Prefectures, during the Tokugawa Period in 1603-1868 (Japanese Pottery Information Center 2016: online).

Nogami mentions that there are two types of Hizen ware, the earlier Arita/Hasami/Mikawachi Ware, and the Karatsu Ware. Karatsu Ware is one of the most popular and historically rich types of Japanese porcelain. Most of the Karatsu Ware was produced in the city of Karatsu, which means "China Port", and is located in the Saga and Nagasaki Prefectures on Kyushu Island (Japanese Pottery Information Center 2016: online; Mikami 1972: 62). Karatsu Ware is known for its "underglaze iron paintings", as depicted in *Figure 5.6* below (Japanese Pottery Information Center 2016: online). Today, the only family that still produces Karatsu Ware is the Nakazato family, which has an unbroken lineage of 14 generations in pottery making. The type of Karatsu Ware most relevant to the Manila Intramuros finds is the Madara Karatsu Ware, which is a speckled type of porcelain with blue spots of straw ash glaze (Japanese Pottery Information Center 2016: online).

Hizen porcelain was produced in Hizen Province, which was an old province of Japan now located in the *todofuken* prefecture of Saga and Nagasaki. Japan is made up of 47 *todofuken*, which form the first level of jurisdiction and administration in Japan. They were first established during the Meiji *Fuhanken sanchisei* administration in 1868, after the fall of the Tokugawa *shogunate*. Located on Kyushu Island, Hizen Province started producing Hizen Ware in the late 16th century and continues to do so until today (Nogami 2006: 1). When the number of Chinese porcelains imported to Japan declined in the middle of the 17th century because of civil war and political turmoil in China, the volume of Hizen porcelain production increased, "and the Hizen porcelain industry dominated the domestic market" (Nogami 2006: 1). Moreover, Japanese Hizen porcelain also started to be exported to other surrounding Asian countries like Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Indochinese peninsula as a substitute for Chinese porcelain.

Unlike China, Korea, and other nations that had ceramic traditions greatly influenced by the Chinese, the production of glazed ceramics was not as prominent or widespread in Japanese kilns (Mikami 1972: 46). The presence of unglazed pottery in Japan was largely influenced by two factors; the first being the "extremely good quality of [Japanese] high-fired stonewares", and the second being the unique preferences of medieval Japan (Mikami 1972: 46). The high-fired Japanese unglazed stonewares were exceptionally well made, so that it was possible to achieve tough, resilient, and strong containers even without the glaze—and in terms of practicality, these unglazed wares may have been, to an extent, even superior to the "glazed ceramics of the day" (Mikami 1972: 46). On the other hand, it has also been suggested by scholars that the prevalence of unglazed ceramics could also have been because of the low living standards of the Japanese consumers at that time, rather than Japanese preferences, and in fact they could have been used as substitutes for the more expensive Chinese celadon imports that were purchased by aristocrats (Mikami 1972: 47). Yet, despite this criticism on preferential influence on the lack of prevalence of unglazed wares, Mikami (1972) still suggests that the main source of demand for these unglazed wares lay in the agricultural population, who preferred "the elegance of simplicity", since most of these farmers were potters and rural-dwellers (Mikami 1972: 48).

It was only in the late 16th century that the production of glazed ceramics in Japan expanded notably (Mikami 1972: 62). As the porcelain production industry in Arita was protected by the monopolistic policies of the Saga fief, the extensive manufacture and distribution of these wares spread throughout Kyushu as well as across Japan, and porcelains were exported by the Dutch East India Company all over the globe (Mikami 1972: 63). Because these Arita ceramics were shipped out of Japan from the seaport of Imari, they eventually became known as Imari ware—another detail that has caused much confusion for many scholars.

One of the reasons why Arita became such an important and prominent center of ceramic production is the abundance of porcelain-type clays around the city. This greatly reduced the production costs of porcelain and gave Arita a natural monopoly over the porcelain production industry simply because they had the easiest access to raw materials (Mikami 1972: 64). However, this monopoly only lasted until 1800, when porcelain manufacturing spread across the different states and prefectures of Japan. Japanese preferences for unglazed wares did not cease despite the increased production of porcelain. While it has been assumed in ceramic scholarship that unglazed wares were generally of lower quality than glazed wares, this new knowledge about Japanese consumer preferences contributes to the dialogue about the types of wares that were produced and shipped out of the country. As seen later in this chapter, it is evident that both glazed and unglazed Japanese wares were found across the Philippine archipelago. Initially, I hypothesized that the "quality" of the wares based on glazed or unglazed ceramics was meaningful, but it is now more evident that the demand for these ceramic types was more organic and driven by social factors.

Table 5.1 at the end of this chapter gives a brief overview of the different ceramic periods in Japan, as well as a summary of some of the most important characteristics of the ceramics of those periods. Although the table has been organized by period and ceramics are generally characterized by the political period in which they were manufactured, within each era and within each genre of ceramics, "many varieties came into being, all of which amicably continued to exist together, with little or no mutual inference" (Mikami 1972: 67). Furthermore, aside from being influenced by sociopolitical developments in the country, Japanese ceramic traditions were also shaped by religion and inspired by their natural environment.

Ceramic Trends

Possible Origins and Trade Routes of Hizen Ware

Soon after the port city of old Manila and Intramuros were built by the Spanish, the Manila Galleon trade involving valuable goods such as New World silver was initiated. Because Japanese ceramics were traded on the same vessels as a number of precious and economically expensive goods, it is likely that these Japanese ceramics had a similar level of value.[18]

Before Nogami's research, there has been little discussion of Hizen porcelain trade through the Manila-Acapulco Route. This lack of dialogue regarding Japanese ware stems mainly from two reasons: (1) Hizen ware had not been identified in Manila excavations, (2) the limited information present about the role of Chinese junks in the Manila-Acapulco route as compared to that of the Dutch East India Company (also called *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or VOC). Previous excavations have led to the discovery of various Hizen Porcelain pieces at sites in such regions as Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, and Indonesia. However, it was only after Nogami's excavations in 2004 and 2005 that several sherds of Hizen Porcelain were unearthed in Intramuros. These recently excavated Japanese sherds provide important information on trends in the trade relationships between the provinces within the Philippines and different prefectures in Japan. Nogami postulates that "some Hizen porcelain was exported from Nagasaki to Manila via Taiwan and Southern China by Chinese junks. Some Hizen porcelain was consumed at the Intramuros in Manila; also, other Hizen porcelain pieces were transported from Manila to Spanish colonies in the American Continent by Spanish galleon ships" (Nogami 2006: 1).

[18] For more information on this, it is useful to look at studies and archaeological research that has been done on shipwrecks. Some of these will be mentioned in Chapter 7, although if the reader is interested, much work has been done on ceramics and porcelain found in shipwreck records around the Philippine archipelago.

In terms of trade, the Tokugawa Shogunate only legally permitted the Chinese and Dutch ships to trade in Nagasaki until the mid-19th century, so Nogami suggests that it was those ships that exported Hizen ware across the Manila-Acapulco Galleon Trade route. Because of Dutch and Spanish hostilities, Nogami suggests that the inflow of Hizen Porcelain into Manila mainly occurred through Chines junks (Nogami 2006: 4). However, Nogami mentions that it is uncertain whether Chinese ships directly sailed from Nagasaki, Japan, directly to the port of Manila. It is probable that Chinese junks first passed through Taiwanese cities and other parts of Southern China, where relay-ports for the Hizen porcelain trade network were located. In particular, Nogami identifies Amoy and Anhai in China as possible relay-ports for Hizen trade in the late 1650s and early 1660s because this area was under the control of Zheng Chenggong, who was the "most important merchant dealing in Hizen porcelain" (Nogami 2006: 4). Aside from the Southern coast of China, another important location for Hizen porcelain trade would have been Macao's Monte Fortress site, which is the only site on Macao where Hizen porcelain has been unearthed. The Monte Fortress site was a Portuguese fort where similar blue and white bowls with floral vegetation motifs were found. Hizen porcelain has also been found in Shenei near Tainan, Taiwan. These discoveries led Nogami to conclude that Hizen porcelain was imported to Manila by Chinese junks through the Taiwan route between the 1660s and 1680s. *Figures 5.4 and 5.5* below show these hypothesized trade routes based on trade routes and shipwreck evidence cited by Nogami (2006).

In terms of trans-pacific trade, Nogami suggests that Hizen porcelain was transported from Manila to American colonies like Mexico City and Guatemala through galleon ships. Only eight sherds of Hizen ware have been found in the American continent, particularly from the sites of Mexico City and the Santo Domingo Monastery in Guatemala. These sherds were very similar to

those found in the Intramuros site; they were blue and white dish sherds with similar design motifs and shapes as the ones found in Manila. Below, in *Figure 5.2*, is a map of Southeast Asia along with the sites where Hizen porcelain was found.

In their recent ceramic research in Manila during 2004, Verlag and Schottenhammer (2008) found pieces of Hizen porcelain. These sherds served as concrete evidence that supported their hypothesis that Hizen porcelain was imported into Manila. Similarly, the authors also note that Hizen Ware sherds have been found in Spanish colonies in the Americas, like Mexico City, Guatemala City, and Havana. The Hizen Ware was "transported from Manila by the Spanish galleon ships. Hizen porcelain was imported into Manila via Taiwan by the Chinese ships. Some of them were used at Intramuros, and others were transported from Manila to the American continent by the galleon ships and used in the Spanish colonies" (Verlag and Schottenhammer 2008: 211).

Description and Locations of Hizen Wares in the Philippines

Most of the Hizen porcelain found in Manila was located in the Intramuros site. *Figure 5.3* from Nogami (2006) maps out the Intramuros site and locates the sites where Hizen Ware was found. Along with the Philippine National Museum, Nogami and his team found 60 sherds of Hizen porcelain dating back to the 17th century.

Figure 5.4 depicts the Hizen finds by Nogami's team in 2004, along with Nogami's description of the sherds. Most of the sherds were blue and white like Chinese ceramics, had bird and flower motifs, and were produced between the 1650s and 1680s. Nogami postulates that the decoration and manufacture were similar to those of Carrak/Karak Ware sherds found in kiln sites at Arita, which were initially made for European export. The similarities between the Intramuros

finds in 2004 and other similar Carrak/Karak Ware supports the hypothesis that trade of Japanese porcelain occurred in the lowland port city of Manila during the Spanish period.

Nogami's finds in 2005 along with their locations relative to *Figure 5.3* are shown in *Figure 5.4*. Similar to the 2004 finds, Nogami's 2005 Intramuros finds also depict bird and flower designs in a blue and white theme. Nogami mentions that the white dishes with rock and leaf motifs look as if the leaves were painted on with a *konnyaku* cowhide stamp rather than a traditional paintbrush. These sherds also seem to be similar to Carrak/Karak style dishes, and are dated from the 1650s to the 1680s. Ceramics analyzed by Nogami are shown in *Figures 5.8 to 5.19.*

Discussion and Significance

Material evidence from this chapter is largely based on a Nogami's comprehensive study of Japanese porcelain found in the Philippine archipelago. Unfortunately, despite museum visits to the Ayala Museum and the Philippine National Museum in January this year, I was unable to obtain images of Japanese pottery and ceramics, so this chapter is greatly limited by the data available to me. Nogami mentions that trade of Hizen porcelain was only legally possible through either Dutch or Chinese ships, and thus most likely occurred between Manila and Chinese junks because of Spanish conflicts with the Dutch. This view contrasts with Nguyen-Long's (1999) conclusion discussed in the next chapter that trade in fact did occur between Dutch ships and the *datus* of Mindanao. In Chapter 6, which focuses on Vietnamese porcelain trade across the archipelago, I discuss Nguyen-Long's argument that there were differing statuses of trade within different parts of the Philippines. Specifically, Nguyen-Long finds evidence that trade did occur between Dutch ships and Mindanao *barangays* and *sultans*. The same Dutch ships that transported Vietnamese ceramic ware to Mindanao most likely also contained Hizen porcelain onboard, given

that they were traveling the same route. These two perspectives then present a conflict—did trade occur between Dutch ships and Mindanao?

Thus, these two studies of different ceramic types that were found in the Philippines but were supposedly transported and distributed on the same trade vessels opens the discussion of the relationship between the Philippine archipelago and its neighboring countries. Although the exact nature of the trade routes and trade relationships between the Philippines, Japan, and Vietnam remain unclear, it is clear the relationships between provinces in the Philippines and its neighboring countries were largely influenced by social relationships, rather than purely political regulations as governed by the Spaniards.

An important facet of the finds in Intramuros is that they may not have been directly transported from Japan to Manila, and instead may have passed through China and Taiwan first. This brings to light the critical concept of interconnectedness. More often than not, trade routes for many ceramic-exporting Southeast Asian countries are not direct. Analyzing these in terms of feasibility and practicality, it would probably have been much more common for trade vessels to visit multiple trade sites before returning to their home ports. The finds of Nogami (2005) as well as the shipwreck evidence at the Ayala Museum both hint at the complex relationships among these neighboring countries, as well as raising the question of the validity of prior assumptions that downscaled the level of interaction these civilizations had in the 16th century. These findings reiterate the importance of taking a cross-cultural approach when analyzing ceramic finds, as well as using a multi-medium approach when studying material culture. Although my thesis is limited to the study of ceramic materials only, it is evident that there is much more to learn and much more to gain by studying other types of trade goods that were imported into and excavated across the Philippine archipelago.

FIGURES AND TABLES V:

Figure 5. 1: Map of Japanese Kiln sites, from http://ahis335.blogspot.com/2009/10/maps-of-chinese-japanese-and-se-asia.html

Figure 5. 2: Map of Japan, from the Mary Griggs Burke Collection of Japanese Art (2000).

Figure 5.3: Archaeological sites with Hizen porcelain in Southeast Asia, compiled by Nogami (2006). In the center lies the Philippine archipelago. Published in Nogami (2006).

Figure 5.4: Map of Intramuros, Manila, showing archaeological sites studied by Nogami and his team; from Nogami (2006).

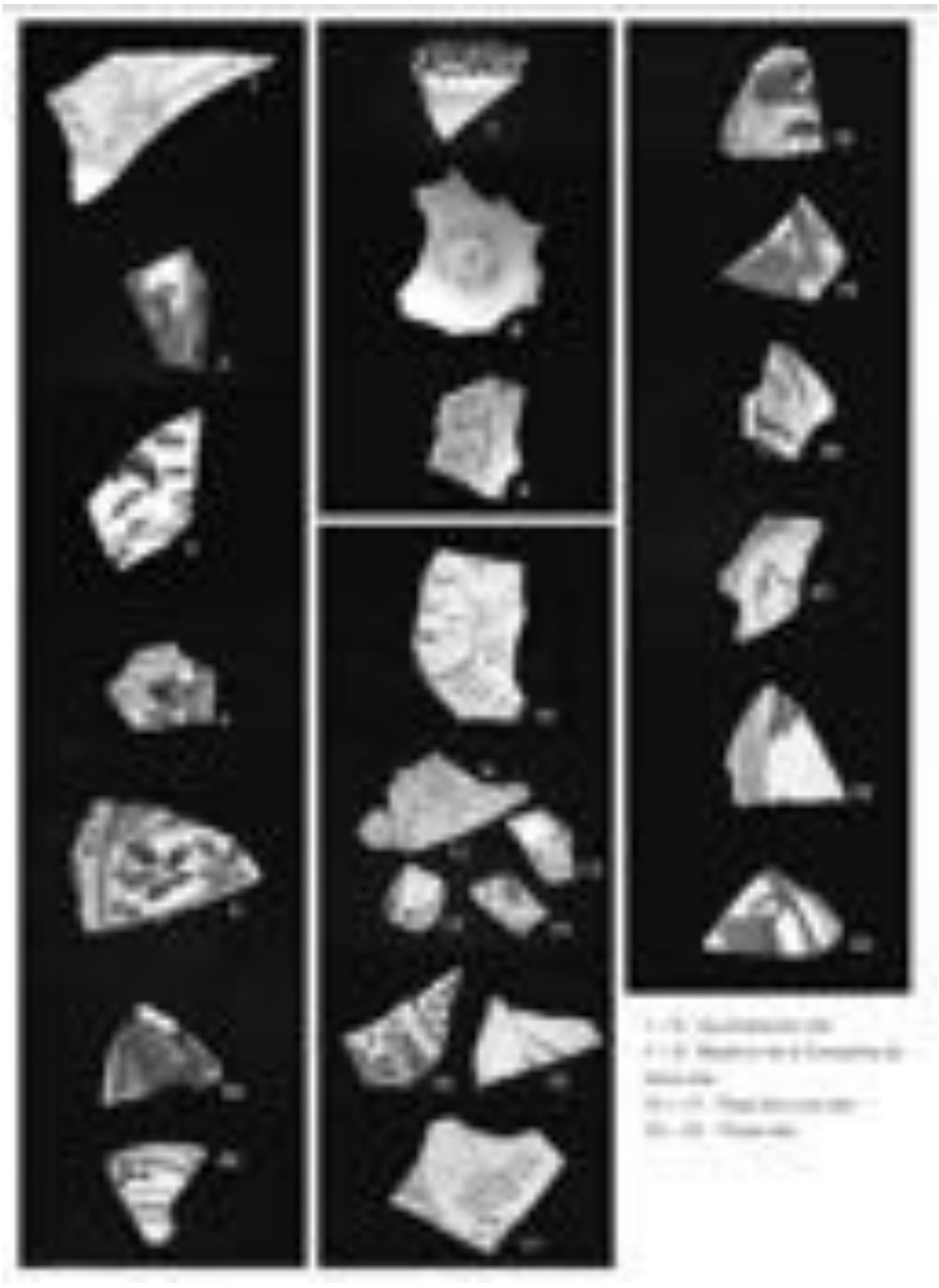

Figure 5.5: Sherds of Hizen porcelain excavated by Nogami and his team at Intramuros. These sherds are currently housed in the National Museum of the Philippines. From Nogami (2006).

Period	Description of Sociocultural Events	Characteristics of Ceramics Produced
Paleolithic (200,000 – 10,500 BCE)		Generally comprised of soft earthenware
Jomon (10,500 – 400 BCE)		Coil-made ware decorated with hand-impressed rope patterns; most of which were heated in open fires
Yayoi (400 BCE – 250CE)		Yayoi pottery characterized by simple or no patterns
Kofun (250CE – 600CE)	Creation of the potter's wheel in Japan from Korea in the anagama kiln	Sue pottery stoneware, which was fired at higher temperatures; use of plant material in kiln firing; initially used as funerary ware but became an elite tableware and utilitarian ware
Asuka Period (552CE – 710CE)	Introduction of Buddhism to the Japanese archipelago	Pottery during this period was influenced by the religious movements and changes within Japan
Nara Period (710CE – 1185CE)		Sue pottery functioned as an elite tableware and a utilitarian ware for rituals and Buddhist ceremonies, rather than the funerary ware it was used for in the Kofun Period.
Heian Period (794CE – 1185CE)		Three color glaze technique was used and brought in from the Chinese Tang dynasty; Kamui ware was produced
Kamakura Period (1185CE – 1333CE)		Unglazed stoneware continued to be popular; now used for heavy-duty daily requirements as well as the rise of the Six Old Kilns (Shigaraki, Tamba, Bizen, Tokoname, Echizen and Seto)
Muromachi Period (1333CE – 1573CE)		Heavily influenced by Chinese ceramic traditions; Jian ware was imported from China to Japan and was highly prized; Jian ware developed into tenmoku and used for tea ceremonies
Momoyama Period (1573CE – 1615CE)		Japanese imports of Chinese celadon greenware, white porcelain, blue-and-white ware as well as Korean and Vietnamese ceramics; prevalence of Japanese custom-

		designed ceramics ordered from Chinese kilns
Edo (Tokugawa) Period (1615CE – 1868CE)	Many Chinese kilns were damaged because of the rebellions happening within China against the Ming Dynasty	Chinese refugees who were talented at pottery introduced refined porcelain techniques and enamel glazes to the Arita kilns; prevalence of Japanese blue-and-white ceramics; export of these ceramics to Europe and Asia
Meiji Era (1868CE – 1912CE)		Satsuma ware became a leading export; increased western influence on pottery
Taisho Era (1912CE – 1926CE)		Pottery production highly influenced by British potter Bernard Leach, who was prolific at studio pottery
Showa Era (1926CE – 1989CE)		*Mingei* movement started, with much influence from potter Shoji Hamada (1894-1978), thus establishing Mashiko town as a center for Mashiko ware. Potters an artists during this period studied traditional glazing techniques to keep historical and cultural traditions alive.

Table 5.2: Ceramic and Sociocultural Periods compiled by author; from Peabody Essex Museum (2004); Mikami (1972); The Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (2005); The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2000);

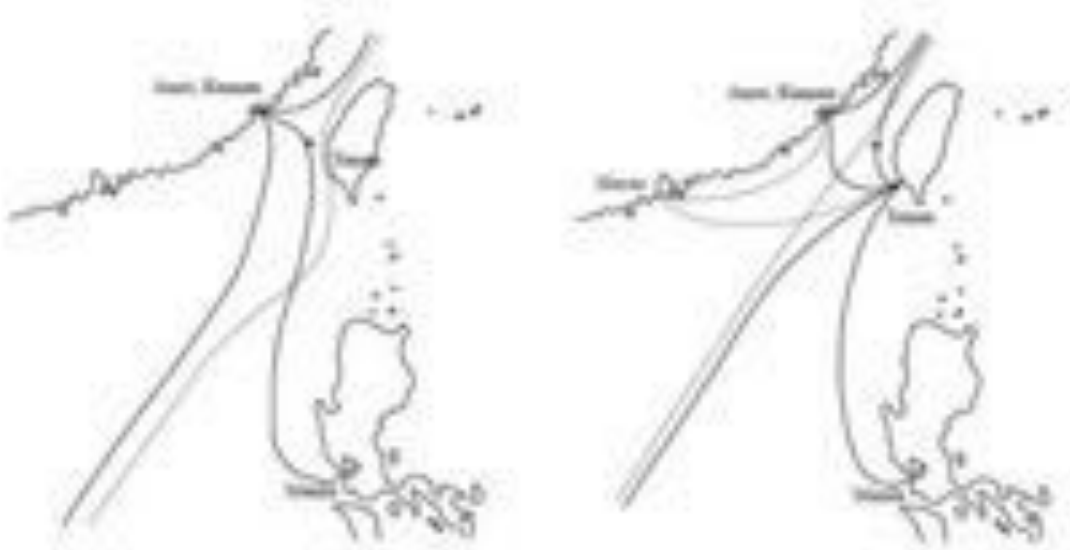

Figure 5.6 Maps that depict trade routes which Hizen porcelain traveled in, from Nogami (2006). The left shows the trade route of Hizen porcelain in 1650-1660, and the right shows the trade route of Hizen porcelain from 1660-1680.

Figure 5.7 World map showing some of the major trade points of the Galleon Trade, from Nogami (2006).

Figure 5.8: Karatsu tea-leaf jar with design of persimmons, from the late 16th century; height 17.1cm, located in Idemitsu Gallery, Tokyo. From the Metropolitan Museum of Arts (1975).

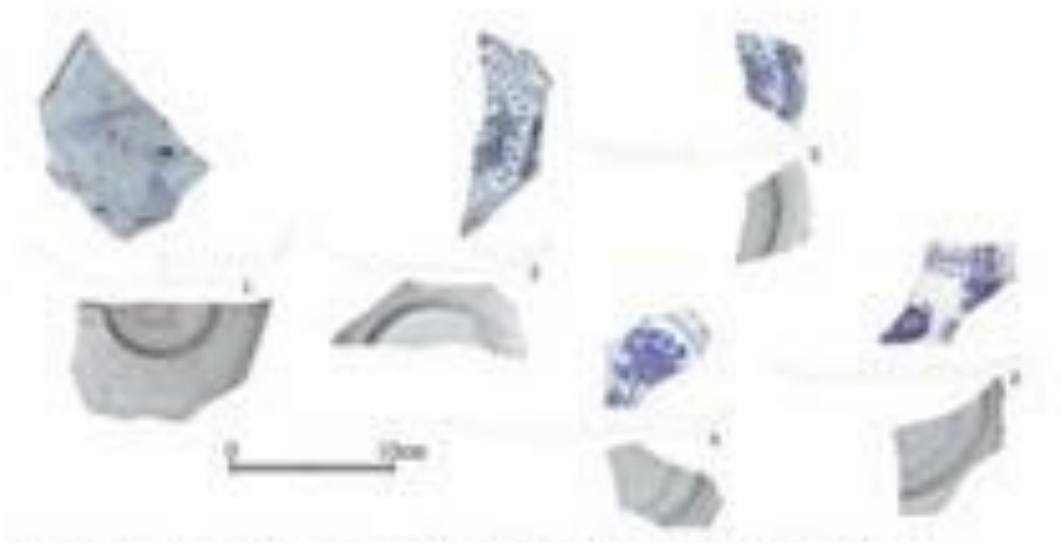

Figure 5.9: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005, from the Ayuntamiento site, Manila).

Figure 5.10: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005, from the Ayuntamiento site, Manila).

Figure 5. 11: Hizen porcelain data set from the Beaterio de la Compania de Jesus site, from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5. 12: Hizen porcelain data set from Plaza San Luis site, Manila, from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5.13: Hizen porcelain data set from the Parian site, Manila, from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5. 14: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5. 15: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5. 16: Hizen porcelain data set from Templo Mayor site, from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5. 17: Hizen porcelain data set from Mexico city, from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5. 18: Hizen porcelain data set from Santo Domingo, Oaxaca, from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5.19: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005).

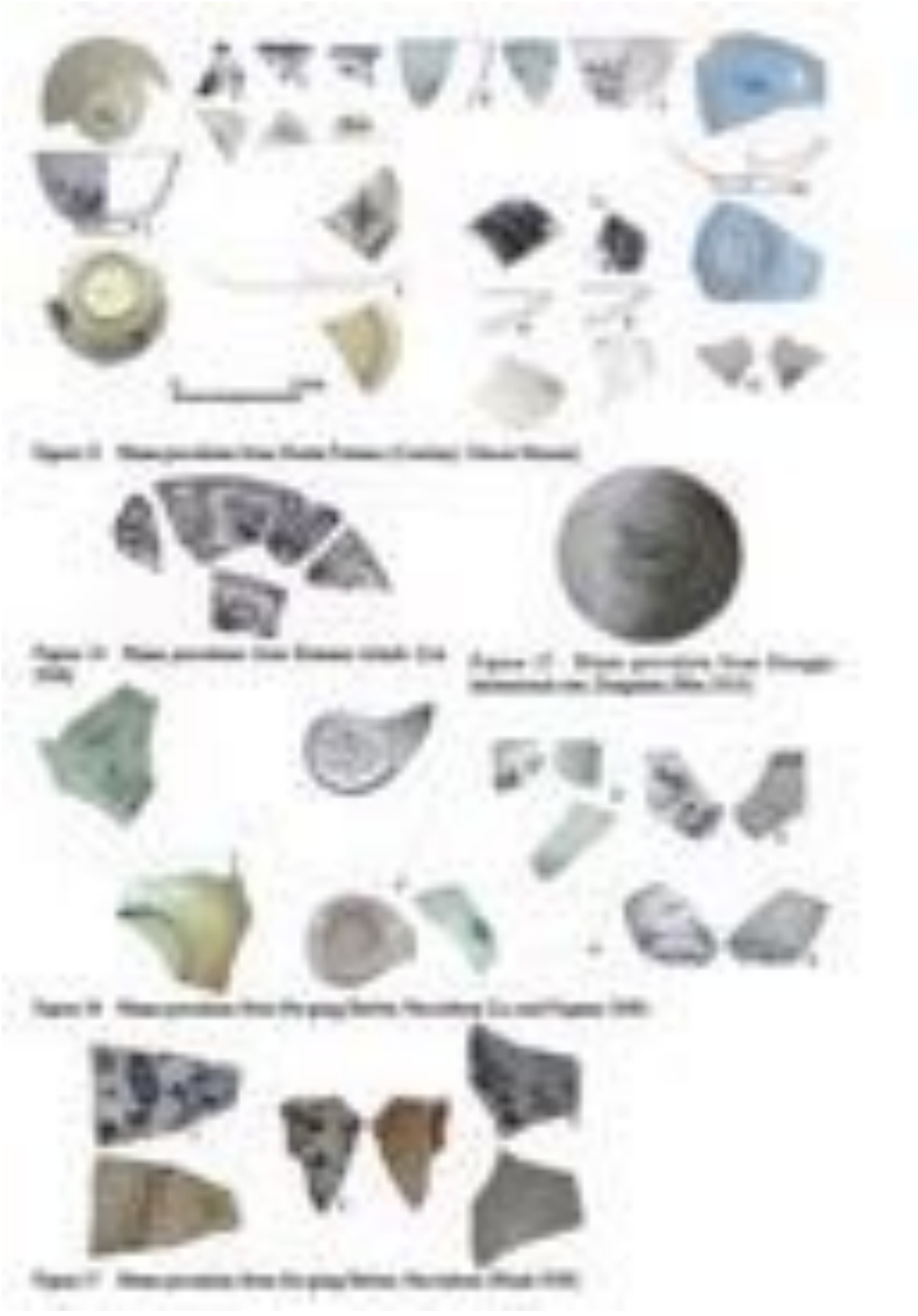

Figure 5.20: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005).

Figure 5.21: Hizen porcelain data set from Nogami (2005).

CHAPTER VI: Vietnamese Ceramics

Introduction

One of the nations that traded heavily with the Philippines early on was Vietnam. Although grossly understudied, Vietnamese ceramics have had one of the most sophisticated and sustained ceramic traditions in Southeast Asia. These ceramics with production centers on the Hong (Red) River Delta in northern Vietnam "[open] a window onto the aesthetic of a people and [allow] us to gauge cultural, social, and political preoccupations as they change through time" (Stevenson and Guy 1997: 11). Since the typologies and production patterns of Vietnamese ceramics were highly influenced by political, economic, and cultural events occurring both within Vietnam and across its neighboring countries, a close analysis of these ceramics found in the Philippines will provide important insight into Philippine interactions with Vietnam, as well as other Southeast Asian nations. Vietnam's tumultuous relationship with China also provides important information about the multi-directional paths of cultural and economic exchange among these southeast Asian countries throughout the 14th through 18th centuries. Vietnamese ceramics provide an important comparison with the other glazed ceramic traditions of China and Japan. Despite the amount of research that has been published on Vietnamese ceramics, we still lack a clear understanding of the production and consumption of these artifacts (Stevenson and Guy 1997: 12). Thus, an examination of Vietnamese ceramics and their presence on trading ships with which the Philippines were known to have relations with may shed some light on ceramic trade patterns.

In a paper written by Kerry Ngyuen-Long (1999), the author describes seventeenth-century trade ceramics from northern Vietnam that were discovered in the southern part of the Philippines. Within ceramic scholarship, it has long been assumed that Vietnamese ceramics were not traded

in the Philippines[19]. For example, Brown (1988) argues that, of the 17th- and 18th-century ceramics found in southeast Asia, none of the Vietnamese types were found in the Philippines because trade was monopolized by the Spanish and left the Dutch, who traded with Vietnam, with no trading posts in the country.[20] In contrast to this prevailing view, Nguyen-Long's (1999) work examines the feasibility of finding Vietnamese ceramic wares in the Philippines from 1663-1682, particularly via the trade route from Indonesia to the Philippines (Nguyen-Long 1999: 4). This chapter will be largely based on data that was reported by Nguyen-Long, as well as the small number of Vietnamese ceramics found in the Ayala Museum that I was able to view in person.

The analysis put forward by Nguyen-Long (1999) contributes to the overall argument of this thesis in that it shows how diverse and complicated trade relations between the different provinces in the Philippines were with various southeast Asian countries. Nguyen-Long (1999) finds evidence that although trade in the northern part of the Philippines and most of the Manila port cities was controlled by Spain, as was previously assumed by many scholars, trade in the southern part of the archipelago, particularly in the island group of Mindanao, was more independent. Much of this difference in the trading situation stems from the differing perspectives of the Dutch and the Spanish about trade treaties and political rule. The Spanish colonizers who were based in the port-city of Manila regarded the whole archipelago as part of their territory. However, because trade had already been going on in Muslim Mindanao long before the Spanish arrived (Junker 1998), many of the sultanates continued to trade with Indonesia and other

[19] See also John Guy, "Vietnamese Trade Ceramics", in *Vietnamese Ceramics,* ed. Carol M. Young, Marie-France Dupiozat and Elizabeth W. Lane (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.34. He mentions that "… the absence of these wares from the Philippines, as noted by Brown, can be used as an argument for a Japanese attribution; the wares in question are only known in those regions where the Dutch traded."
[20] For a more detailed discussion of this, see Roxanna M. Brown, 1988. *The Ceramics of South-East Asia: Their Dating and Identification.* Oxford University Press, Singapore.

neighboring countries despite the Spanish rule. The Dutch also continued trade with Mindanao, as they viewed this island group as a completely different and independent political entity.

Nguyen-Long (1999) relies on information obtained mostly from textual evidence to discuss the possibility that Vietnamese porcelain was traded in the Philippines, and to identify the typology of that porcelain. Much of the information we have about Vietnamese ceramic wares imported into southeast Asia in the 17th-century comes from textual sources, as little material culture has been discovered from this period.

Vietnamese Ceramic Types

Broadly, there are six divisions of Vietnamese ceramics: those made in the Han Period, Intermediary Wares, those produced in the Song Period, the early exported wares, the Blue and White wares, and the ceramics produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Vietnamese ceramics, otherwise called Annamese ceramics from the official Chinese name of Vietnam *"Annam"*, were first recognized as a "distinct class of Oriental ceramics" when the Thanh-hoa Province site in Vietnam was excavated during the 1920s (Brown 1977: 5). *Table 6.1* below summarizes the types of wares arranged by period, according to Roxanna Brown (1977).Within Nguyen-Long's study, the typology used is based on the Dutch VOC[21] trade records and contemporary literature. The types that comprise most of Nguyen-Long's study are from the Export Era types.

[21] To remind the reader, the Dutch VOC is the Dutch East India Company or the United East India Company. VOC stands for Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie. This is a publicly traded company that was founded in 1602 by Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, with headquarters in Amsterdam, Dutch Republic Batavia, and the Dutch East Indies. The main products traded here include spice, silk, porcelain, metals, livestock, tea, grains like rice and soybeans, sugarcane, and shipbuilding materials.

Data Sets: Ceramic Trends

Exports from Tonkin, on the fringes of northern Vietnam, were prolific in the seventeenth century, specifically in goods such as "silk, sugar, lacquerware, wooden giltware, ceramics, and a number of miscellaneous products such as musk" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 2). Even at this early stage in southeast Asian trade, Vietnam's Tonkin site already had strong trade relationships with Asian countries such as Japan, mainly focusing on the export of silk. On these same vessels, ceramic goods were also carried for trade. "This trade was facilitated by the *shuinsen* ("red seals", signifying official authorization) trading system until 1633" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 2). However, after the Tokugawa *Bakufu* started to restrict and limit trade, the quantity of ceramics being exchanged among Southeast Asian nations dwindled. After the Act of Seclusion of 1636, Dutch trade with Vietnam and Japan functioned in a mercantile network system, established by the initial *shuinsen* system. The Tokugawa Bakufu prohibited trade with other Western nations, and did not allow Japanese traders to leave the country to exchange goods with other merchants (Columbia University 2009: online). Japan secluded themselves from economic interchange with Western Europe for 200 years, and during this time the Dutch were the only European nation legally permitted to trade with Japanese merchants through a small outpost in Nagasaki Harbor.

It is important to understand the trade relationship between Vietnam and Japan because both of these were trade partners of the Philippine archipelago, and thus goods from each country could be indirectly traded by the other countries. The largest number of export ceramics that were processed at the site of Tonkin were created for southeast Asian market consumption. "The earliest reference in VOC books in Batavia to this trade appears in the year 1663 [when]: '…a junk from Tonkin arrives with 10,000 coarse porcelain bowls,'" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 2). It has been

estimated that the total number of ceramic imports to Batavia (modern Jakarta) from Tonkin in the years 1663 to 1682 were in the number of 1,456,000 pieces.

Textual Evidence: Description of Wares Found in Southeast Asia

Most Vietnamese ceramics excavated in the Philippines were found in burial sites. Because these ceramics were surrounded by deceased bodies that were chemically preserved in the unique nature of indigenous burial customs, most of the ceramics remained intact for archaeologists to find (Nguyen-Long 1999: 5). However, when the Muslims and Spanish came into power, they disapproved of native burial customs and ceramics were no longer included in burials. Because of this scarcity of archaeological evidence, a lot of seventeenth-century information about Vietnamese ceramic wares comes from textual evidence from trade records rather than archaeological excavation.

The typology of many trade ceramics that have been exchanged with the Philippines is that of "everyday utilitarian wares, the majority of which are rough but some with better quality," most of which were variations of bowls and smaller vessels (Nguyen-Long 1999: 7). These mass-produced ceramics were used in festivals and rituals integral to Philippine indigenous culture. However, despite their utilitarian nature, imported ceramics were still considered a prestigious good, especially for the Maguindanao Sultanate, which was one of the most powerful southern states in the seventeenth century. This prestige-good status of ceramics is evidenced in Malay texts. Textual evidences of ceramics in the sultanate were "included in inventories of wealth together with other prestige goods such as kris, silver and brass goods, gold-threaded clothes, semi-precious stone beads and slaves" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 15). The historical facts regarding ceramic trade in the Philippines during the seventeenth century vary widely, particularly among the aforementioned

debatable political settings in the northern and southern regions. Nevertheless, Nguyen-Long's study concludes that Maguindanao did indeed participate in trade exchanges with the Dutch Batavias ship in 1663 to 1682, the English in Bantam/Banten until 1682, and informal trade between indigenous traders and local Chinese merchants, thus allowing ample opportunity for the exchange of Vietnamese ceramics. Nguyen-Long's conclusion is aligned with much of the material evidence found in shipwrecks on the coast of the Philippine archipelago, as well as in the surrounding oceans, and some of the artifacts in the Villanueva Collection of the Ayala Museum.[22]

Because little evidence for Vietnamese ceramic material culture has been excavated in the land-area of the Philippines, Nguyen-Long (1999) uses an approach that establishes a typology for Vietnamese porcelain by mapping the descriptions in texts in relation to the locations of porcelain found at different sites across Southeast Asia.

Across the references in both contemporary literature and Dutch VOC records, common wares were identified—in particular, assorted porcelain cups and bowls, though the distinction between these two is not always clear. These cups and bowls came in different sizes and in different qualities, and were mostly of grey colors.[23] Many of these bowls were plain and undecorated.

Blue and white glazed wares were also identified to have been traded ceramics in the 17th century. About 100 "polychrome overglaze enamel wares" were housed in the Sarawak Museum in heirloom contexts, and described by Brown as "heavily crazed and tinted ivory white" (Brown 1988: 30).[24] One possible location in which these wares could have been produced is Bat Trang, which was famous for its "crackled glazes" and was known to have produced ceramics with an

[22] For more information on the artifacts found in the surrounding oceans, shipwreck artifacts serve as an important source. The Ayala Museum houses some artifacts from shipwrecks, as does the Philippine National Museum. These will briefly be discussed in Chapter 7, although it is outside the scope of my thesis.
[23] Nguyen-Long says that this was the only reference to color, but it was not determined if this was "the appearance of the clay fabric or the glaze".
[24] See Roxanna M. Brown, *The Ceramics of South-East Asia: Their Dating and Identification (*Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1988). p.30

"ivory glaze" during the 17th through 19th centuries (Nguyen-Long 1999: 7). However, some of the features described on the 17th century export wares "as gleaned from textual accounts, are not compatible with those described by Brown," and so uncertainty still remains as to whether these blue and white glazed wares originated from Bat Trang (Nguyen-Long 1999: 8).

During the 14th through 16th century, a large number of Vietnamese ceramics were imported across Southeast Asia and found in what are now Indonesia and the Philippines. The expansive quantity and typology was "proof of the robustness of the trade" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 5). Excavations and research in the northern part of Vietnam have shown that these trade ceramics were produced in the Hai Duong province.

Another description of similar blue and white wares was that of Harrisson (1995), who studied a jarlet and bowl from the Sabah Museum.[25] Harrisson says that these wares are "probably from Vietnam" with a date of "c.1700-1800" (Harrisson 1995: 63). Ceramics of these types, with overglaze decorations and similar to those studied by Harrisson (1995), were discovered in the northern parts of the Philippines and in the central and southern part of Vietnam, further supporting Nguyen-Long's (1999) hypothesis that trade occurred between these two island-nations. However, this overglazed type of ceramic ware did not seem to be compatible with or linked to the types listed in Dutch VOC records or the contemporary literature studied by Nguyen-Long (1999).

The ceramic ware that is most comparable to those described in textual accounts are the bowls is best described by Asako Morimoto (1993)[26] and Nguyen Van Y (1991)[27]. Nguyen (1991) discussed Vietnamese utility items made from *dan* stoneware, similar to those found and excavated

[25] Barbara Harrisson, *Later Ceramics in South-East Asia: Sixteenth to Twentieth Centuries* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 63 and Plates 32-33, 80-83.
[26] Asako Morimoto, "Vietnamese Trade Ceramics: A Study Based on Archaeological Data from Japan", *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 11 (1993): 70, Nos. 11-12; and *Vietnamese Ceramic Exhibition* (Tokyo: Machida Municipality Museum, 1993, Plates 216, 311.
[27] Nguyen Van Y, *Dom gom hoa lam va do gom dan qua mot so trung tam san xuat,* pp. 39-40, 1991

in Japan. These types of *dan* ware were mostly produced in Bat Trang, but some of them were also made in Cay. *Dan* wares were usually stamped or decorated in freehand in chrysanthemum motifs. To further support Nguyen's (1991) findings, there is material evidence in 1958 within the remains of an old village in use 300 years ago which was discovered. Within this site, bowls with the same shape, size, dimension, and motif as those described by Nguyen (1991) were found. "The various features of these bowls compare with the type of bowl found at North Hung Hai Dam as described by Nguyen-Y" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 10).

The bowls from the riverbank were also similar to those found by Marimoto (1993) and now housed in the Machida Museum. Although they were made out of different clay fabric, and have somewhat different shapes, Nguyen-Long (1999) proposes that the proportions of the base formation of the bowl in the Machida Museum and the bowl found in the Red River Bank were from the same order. The floral imprints on these bowls were also very similar and might be of the same type. "In terms of form, size and quality these bowls compare with those described in textual accounts" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 10). This evidence suggests that these bowls were widely produced, and thus must have been represented on shipping vessels that traded across Southeast Asia.

Archaeological Evidence: Vietnamese Porcelain in the Ayala Museum

The Ayala Museum's Roberto T. Villanueva Collection houses Vietnamese ceramics from the kiln sites of Bat Trang, Hai Hung, and Thanh Hoa. Because the Ming court imposed a trade ban that prohibited Chinese merchants from interacting with foreigners in the 15th century, there was a shortage of Chinese ceramics in the Asian market (Tan 2016: 22). This shortage of Chinese exports allowed other countries with similarly developed ceramic traditions to increase their

exports in the Philippine setting—two of these were Japan and Vietnam. "The Villanueva collection has a good representation of Vietnamese ceramics, especially of the blue-and-white ware, which was the most popular ceramic export in the 15th-16th century" (Tan 2016: 24). The Vietnamese ceramics collection found in the Ayala Museum is thus highly supportive of Nguyen-Long's (1999) argument that Vietnam and the Philippines had an intricate trade relationship during the 17th century. Many of the ceramic types that Nguyen-Long (1999) described from textual evidence are also present in the Ayala Museum collection—in particular the wares from northern Vietnam are well represented, like the ones found at the Bat Trang kiln site which produced the bulk of blue-and-white glazed wares. These wares are depicted in *Figures 6.1 and 6.2.* Many of these Vietnamese ceramics that are housed in the Ayala Museum were found on the personal properties of Roberto T. Villanueva; although they are representative of the types produced in Vietnam, one challenge to analyzing these ceramics is that the information about the locations in which they were found is sometimes lacking.

Trade Networks

Nguyen-Long identifies three routes through which ceramics were traded into the Philippines. Namely, these are; (1) trade between Maguindanao and the Dutch VOC in Batavia, (2) the route between Maguindanao and the English traders in Bantam[28], and (3) the complex link which allowed informal trade between eastern Indonesia and southern Muslim Philippines.

Although literature concerning Vietnamese ceramic trade with the Philippines does not generally examine the seventeenth century, Nguyen-Long (1999) claims that writers who have

[28] Bantam, also called Banten, is a port town near the western end of Java, Indonesia. It is currently the provincial capital city of Serang. In the early 16th century, Tome Pires, a Portuguese explorer, wrote that Banten was an important within the Kingdom of Sunda, and as I describe in this chapter, was very relevant to Philippine-Vietnamese ceramic trade.

done so in the past made a number of incorrect assumptions. First of all, "It has been assumed… that the Dutch in Batavia [the capital city of the Dutch East Indies which is now modern-day Jakarta] had a monopoly on the ceramic trade from Vietnam to the extent that seventeenth century Vietnamese ceramics were unobtainable to those outside Dutch jurisdiction" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 4). This assumption is false, as evidenced by records from the East India Company that mention a ship arriving in Pho Hien from Manila indicating that "such a voyage would afford the opportunity to acquire ceramics" (Nguyen-Long 1999: 4). The complex trade setting described by Nguyen-Long (1999) supports Junker's (1998) claims, which were discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. This heightened complexity of trade within the unique provinces in the archipelago furthers the idea that we cannot make sweeping statements about the economic impact of Spanish colonization on Philippine trade, since each city-state responded differently to Spanish colonial influence.

Second, it has also been assumed that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ceramics in southeast Asia have not been found in the Philippines because trade was monopolized by the Spaniards. Claims have even been made that, because of the typology of the excavated ceramics, Vietnamese wares stopped being imported into the Philippines in the seventeenth century. Although these arguments have been considered as common-knowledge in the ceramic world, Nguyen-Long (1999) argues that it was indeed possible that ceramic wares were traded in the Philippines during this time period.

> While it is true that trade in the northern Philippines was controlled by Spain, in the southern part of the archipelago the situation was quite different. Furthermore… the Spanish and the Dutch had quite different perspectives about the areas in which each could legitimately trade… [and] because the sultanates were located on the peripheries of the contending Dutch and Spanish centres of power, the status of trade in the southern Philippines was subject to fluctuations according to the ability of the sultans to interact with the policies… of the two colonial powers. (Nguyen-Long 1999: 4).

Similar to the discussion in Chapter 3, it is clear that prevailing political relationships had a larger impact on trade rather than actual Spanish rule. The Maguindanao Sultanate, in Mindanao on the southern tip of the Philippines, was gaining power at this point, but because it was between the maritime control of the Spanish and the Dutch, trade relations among these three entities were very fluid. Upon Spanish arrival in the sixteenth century, southern Muslim states in Mindanao resisted colonization, until Governor Acuna led an expedition to Manila and finally defeated Sultan Zaide, after which the Spanish regained control of the area and, accordingly, a large portion of Philippine trade. However, because the Dutch viewed Mindanao as an independent island that was not under Spanish control, trade relationships between Dutch merchants and Muslim sultans continued.

In the 17th century, trade did continue between Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Informally, it has been said that some of the late 17th century imported ceramic wares have been found and excavated through illegal excavations.[29] During my museum visits and conversations with representatives in the Philippines over the winter of 2016, I observed that personal collections are the main source of information on imported wares. In fact, looking at the expansive Roberto T. Villanueva collection within the Ayala Museum, we can see that most objects were donated by Roberto Villanueva from his personal assets. While it is a step forward in Philippine archaeology and heritage preservation that personal collections that are part of Filipino history are now being housed in museums, the challenge still remains that many of these artifacts lack documentation—including facts such as the location they were found in and what particular setting that location had during the time period they were used.

[29] Nguyen-Long (1999) mentions in her paper that this information comes from informal sources but is common knowledge among black market dealers. See page 5, footnote 22 in Nguyen-Long, 1999 for more information about this.

Discussion and Significance

One of the biggest challenges for this thesis is studying the evidence of Vietnamese ceramics in the Philippines. The main source used in this chapter is the research of Kerry Nguyen-Long (1999). Although Nguyen-Long (1999) presents a convincing and coherent discussion, she faces the difficulty in her research of the lack of concrete material culture that will support her argument. Although her analysis of textual evidence coming from a plethora of sources is exhaustive, these texts cannot substitute for material culture. Using a combination of Vietnamese ceramics that are found in other museums across southeast Asia, as well as studying the ceramics that are housed in the Ayala Museum, I was able to put together a picture of how Vietnamese ceramic trade with the Philippines looked from the 14th- to 18th-centuries. This chapter shows that trade existed between the Philippines and Vietnam before the Spanish came, and continued even during and after their occupation. The hypothesis that the status of more informal rather than legally permitted trade in Mindanao continued to flourish even during the Spanish era is significant because can it gives us a different perspective into how trade networks in the Philippines were traditionally viewed. Could a similar mechanism have occurred in the Ifugao, which, like Mindanao acted as an almost independent entity? Can we say something similar happened to provincial areas that had culturally rich ties with their trade partners? This new information puts forward the possibility that trade between more isolated populations like the Ifugao might have continued or even flourished during the Spanish era, in part because of enduring religious and cultural ties with lowland Philippine trade partners, and in part because of differing views of Philippine political divisions and political power by outside trade partners.

While this chapter sheds light on the intricacies of Philippine trade relationships with its southeast Asian neighbors, it does not quantitatively measure the impact of the Spanish regime on

Philippine trade with Vietnam. Unfortunately, despite much research, I was unable to determine whether the number of Vietnamese wares traded in the Philippines increased or decreased after the Spanish occupation, nor was I able to isolate changes in quality of Vietnamese wares as effects of the Spanish regime. In this sense then, it may not be possible to evaluate the overall socioeconomic impact of the Spanish regime on indigenous populations using Vietnamese-Philippine trade patterns. It is difficult in this case to use Vietnamese trade and ceramics as a proxy for the economic conditions within the Philippines, particularly because of Nguyen-Long's (1999) point that trade differed across the archipelago. Thus, using the absolute or even average number of traded goods to extrapolate the economic environment in the Philippines may not be productive.

A more useful analysis, however, is the understanding that social relationships played a huge role in Philippine trade relations. The fact that Philippine-Vietnamese trade continued even during the Spanish era, and increased in the 15th century after the Chinese trade ban, shows just how variable and turbulent trade relationships are among southeast Asian nations. Although this change in Vietnamese-Philippine trade patterns is shown to fluctuate over time, it is difficult to isolate how much of this effect is due to internal political events happening within Vietnam, internal political changes within the Philippines caused by the Spanish regime, or external events that affected one or both of these countries, such as the supply and demand effect of the Chinese trade ban. This then provides important insight into the heart of my thesis—what does this say about colonization's effects on indigenous populations? How evident are these effects, and are ceramics and trade useful mediums to study these effects? Is it even possible to isolate the effects of colonization on indigenous populations just by looking at ceramics? How would we differentiate the effects of the Spanish regime on trade network trends, from the effects of other events on these same trade networks? These new questions that have become apparent through an examination of

Vietnamese-Philippine trade reshaped the perspective of analysis of my thesis, and will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

TABLES AND FIGURES VI:

Ceramic Period	Description of Ware Types
Later Han Period (1st – 3rd centuries)	White-bodied wares with cream-white to slightly greenish glazes essentially in Chinese-inspired shapes
Intermediary Period (4th – 9th centuries)	Miscellaneous white to greyish wares with cream, brown and warm green glazes
Song Period (10th – early 13th centuries)	Unglazed blackish-grey wares, primarily covered urns, plus white greyish-bodied wares of the following types: iron brown inlay, cracked cream, white monochrome, brown monochrome, copper green, celadon and underglaze black
Early Export Era (13th – 14th centuries)	White to greyish-bodied wares, primarily in the shapes of beakers, bowls, jarlets, dishes, and some covered bowls and ewers, of the following glaze types; celadon, copper green, brown, glaze black, and monochrome white
Middle Export Era (15th – 16th centuries)	White to greyish-bodied wares decorated in underglaze blue, sometimes with overglaze red, green, or yellow enamel in a profusion of shapes
Domestic Cult Wares (15th – 17th centuries)	Wares decorated in underglaze blue, often with unglazed whitish-bodied applique decorations of long dragons and rosette buttons, attributed to Bat-trang; dark-bodied unglazed wares, primarily censers, elaborately modelled, attributed to Tho-ha; white-glazed wares, with a dirty white or buff body, and green and/or red enamels; sometimes called 'three-colour' wares; thinly glazed wares, primarily censers, with amber and rust-brown slip coverings, and elaborate carved or moulded applique decoration
Late Export Era (17th – 18th centuries)	Wares with a dirty whitish body and crackled greying glaze, decorated with medium blue underglaze wash; including bottles, jarlets, bowls, and dishes

Table 6. 2: Vietnamese Ceramic Periods and a brief description of the wares produced, from Brown (1977).

Blue-and-white dish with floral design
Vietnam
Ca. 15th-16th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV A-2 (found in Calatagan, Batangas)

Figure 6. 1: Blue and white ceramic dish from the Ayala Museum, courtesy of Ms. Tenten Mina.

Blue-and-white dish with floral design
Vietnam
Ca. 15th-16th century

Roberto T. Villanueva Foundation Collection
Cat. No. RTV-CGV A-128

Figure 6. 2: Blue and white floral ceramic dish from Vietnam, from the Ayala Museum. Courtesy of Ms. Tenten Mina.

Figure 6. 3: Vietnamese porcelain plate with floral designs from the Le Dynasty (1428-1788). Stoneware with blue and white underglaze decoration and red and green overglaze enamels. From Cornell Museum collection: http://museum.cornell.edu/exhibitions/vietnamese-ce

Figure 6. 4: Vietnamese Yuhuchun-ping vase with dragon and pearl design, Le Dynasty (1428-1788). Stoneware with blue and white underglaze decoration. From the Cornell Museum collection: https://www.dropbox.com/s/mkn8188zu0maptu/Screenshot%202017-03-28%2017.42.48.pn

Figure 6. 5: 16th Century Vietnamese Dish, Stoneware 35.5 cm diameter, from Southeast Asian Ceramics St. Louis Art Museum (1977).

Figure 6. 6: Map of Ancient Kiln Siltes in Northern Vietnam, from Vietnamese Ceramics: A Separate Tradition, Stevenson and Guy (1997).

Figure 6. 7: Ceramic and Kiln Lineages in Mainland Southeast Asia, Sites. From Don Hein (2008).

CHAPTER VII: Discussion and Conclusion

Background and Reflection

Throughout this thesis, my goal has been to consider Philippine maritime ceramic trade as a valid proxy for surveying the socioeconomic contexts of various regions across the archipelago, and to better understand how these indigenous histories were affected by Spanish colonialism—a method that should be useful for both archaeologists and economists. This chapter discusses the main findings of my thesis, and the journey I took that led me to those answers (and questions).

I first became interested in thinking about the effects of colonialism on indigenous populations after I applied to take part in the Ifugao Field School with Professor Stephen Acabado at the University of California, Los Angeles.[30] As an archaeology and economics concentrator, the topic of historic trade allowed me to put both of my interests together in a project that is relevant and insightful to both fields of study. Moreover, as an international student from the Philippines, my thesis gave me the opportunity to have a more global perspective on issues regarding nationalism and colonialism, as well as a deeper understanding of heritage and culture. By focusing specifically on *international maritime trade*, I attempt to use ceramic distribution and its geographic frequency trends over time as a proxy for the social and economic impact of Spanish colonialism on the indigenous communities within the Philippine archipelago. Although there has already been much research in the field of archaeological economics as well as the archaeology of trade, I attempt to apply these concepts on a macro scale across the Philippine archipelago.

[30] Unfortunately, due to personal circumstances, I was unable to take part in this project last summer. Despite this, I have maintained contact with Professor Acabado throughout the duration of this thesis, as well as the other archaeologists who are involved in the Ifugao Archaeological Project.

Caveats to Analysis

While I have attempted to investigate and answer the guiding questions of this thesis using the most accurate, efficient, and holistic methods, there are some caveats to my cross-disciplinary analysis. These include, but are not limited to: (1) data availability, (2) ceramic expertise, (3) time constraint, (4) inherent archaeological bias, and (5) the risk of extrapolation from multi-period and multi-area concepts.

The data that I used for analysis in this thesis were obtained either from literature reviews or museum visits. For the bulk of the ceramic studies, I had to rely on previous research done by archaeologists on Chinese, Japanese, and Vietnamese porcelain. This decision to focus on prior research was made based on two main reasons. First, the ceramic experts who have studied these Southeast Asian trade wares have been in the field for a considerable length of time and are well equipped to notice minute details in the make and wear-and-tear of specific potsherds, as well as date and place each artifact's origin. Second, although work has been done to illuminate Philippine ceramic trade with the rest of southeast Asia as well as colonial Europe and the Americas, I have only found a few research studies that have described the ceramics holistically, discussing their manufacturing kiln origins, find location, quantity and quality, as compared to similar ceramics during the period and similar to the location they were found in. Most studies do not provide images or information about the whole data set of the find. Thus, my thesis relies heavily on the few papers that do provide in-depth information: namely the work of Min Li, Kerry Nguyen-Long, and Takenori Nogami for Chinese, Vietnamese, and Japanese ceramics, respectively. To supplement my research on ceramics, I took a graduate-level class on Ceramic Analysis for Archaeology, which aims to explore ceramic production in the past and present, taught by Professor Peter van Dommelen and Professor Miguel Angel Cau Ontiveros.

Aside from the relevant literature, I also analyzed ceramic wares from various museums both within the Philippines and in the United States. Specifically, I visited the Ayala Museum, and the National Museum of the Philippines. I also corresponded with Dr. Carla Sinopoli, who curates the Guthe Collection at the Museum of Anthropological Archaeology at the University of Michigan. At the Ayala Museum, I looked at their Southeast Asian Ceramic Collection and had a discussion with Ms. Tenten Mina, who was in charge of the whole floor, as well as the ceramic library. At the National Museum, I met with Dr. Owis Bolunia of the Archaeology Division and engaged with her about what type of research the National Museum as well as other Filipino researchers have done on the topic of ceramic trade and colonial impact.[31] I combined observations from the published sources with my own observations of materials from the Ayala Museum and the Guthe Collection.

Central Questions

What are the social and economic effects of colonialism on indigenous populations?

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the archaeological and economic perspectives on the effects of European colonialism on indigenous populations are diverse. From a 20th century long-run macroeconomic growth theory standpoint, European colonialism can conventionally be classified as inclusive or extractive, and can thus either be beneficial or detrimental to indigenous populations. Inclusive colonialism integrates indigenous societies, to an extent, with the

[31] Initially, I also wanted to visit the site of the Sta. Ana finds excavated by Locsin and Locsin, but after much networking with the archaeology community within the Philippines, I discovered that these ceramics were not open to the public and were in fact located in their personal collection within their basement. I also reached out to the Intramuros Museum, but they did not have the ceramic collection excavated from the Intramuros site

institutions, governments, and economic markets of the colonizer. Meanwhile, purely extractive colonialism does not attempt to incorporate native communities with the European cultures or financial systems.

The archaeological perspective similarly classifies the social effects of European, particularly Spanish, colonialism on Hispanic and other Meso-American as well as Asian populations. Indigenous communities in the past have either imitated, opposed, or partially absorbed Spanish culture, religion, and art. These differing levels and concentrations of assimilation are to be seen in the architecture, artistic motifs, and pottery production at these sites. Particularly, island Southeast Asia has specific characteristics that allow archaeologists to study distinctive elements in its archaeology and documentary that embody theories of culture contact and cross-cultural interaction (Lape 2003: 102, Whittington and Workinger 2015: 209).

In the Philippines, it is clear that there are varied effects of colonialism, whether we are looking at archaeological or economic data. From an archaeological standpoint, it is noticeable that some parts of the archipelago are more susceptible to Spanish culture, as evidenced by the large and intricate churches across Manila and Sta. Mesa. On the other hand, some places, like the Ifugao and other provincial areas, prided themselves in preserving their culture and resisting Spanish rule. In between these two contrasting examples, we also see sites that have traces of Spanish customs, yet still practicing indigenous traditions. On the economic front, it is also evident that the Spanish impact had varying effects on different parts of the archipelago. Some parts of the country benefited from increased market openness and trade, in particular the sites that served as port cities and economic centres. Other parts of the country suffered a decrease in trade—but as we have seen, not all of this was due to the Spanish political control, as trade was largely the effect of socio-cultural relationships between the *barangays* and their other trade partners. Overall, the

effects of the Spanish era are varied across the Philippines, and as is discussed throughout this thesis, need to be studied on a case-by-case basis and using a variety of methods to understand the comprehensive effects of colonial powers on colonized societies.

Can we observe the socioeconomic effects of Spanish colonialism in the ceramic data?

Initially, I wanted to focus on the quantity and the quality of the ceramics distributed across sites within the country; however, the data available do not allow for this type of analysis. It may be easier to look at the quantity of ceramics found across the Philippines and conclude that trade either increased or decreased from the 14th through the 18th centuries, but this analysis would leave out a lot of important information about the trade environment, routes, as well as valuation of exchanged goods. Moreover, although many sites have been studied extensively, we cannot ignore the fact that some ceramics certainly still remain unexcavated.

Another untapped yet extremely useful source of information that I did not include in my thesis is the data from shipwrecks. Shipwrecks provide an abundance of information on ceramics—in particular, shipwreck sites give us an important overview of the types of goods that were traded at a specific period in time. The diversity of ceramics carried on a trade ship provides much insight into trade relationships among various nations, the trade routes that were followed by the ship, as well as the relative value of these goods.

Although the ceramic data set provides a valuable source of information on the social as well as economic effects of colonialism, only so much can be hypothesized from the ceramic data alone. Ethnoarchaeology has proven incredibly informative for understanding local Philippine ceramic production traditions—an integration of these methods to study trade ceramics would provide valuable insight, especially given that many of the kilns and ceramic production sites that

were discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are still currently being used. The fields of postcolonial archaeology, economic ethnography, and archaeological economics are useful sources for this type of analysis. Work by Miriam Stark[32] on the aspects of political economy and state formation ranging from topics such as economic intensification, regional networks, to landscape approaches, as well as publications by James Skibo on behavioral archaeology, pottery function, archaeological anthropology, and the Kalinga are also extremely useful references.[33]

Specific to the data used in this thesis, we can see that the effects of Spanish colonialism on ceramic trade across the archipelago is not at all uniform. It increased trade in some provinces and cities, especially those ones located at the ports of Manila, while on the other hand it decreased trade in some of the communities that relied more heavily on socio-cultural relationships between *datus* and *barangays* across southeast Asia, like in Muslim Mindanao. Again, no single generalization can be made about the ceramic trends across the archipelago, especially because these were very specific to the site, the political situation, the cultural relationships between those groups with other neighboring communities, and the maritime distribution of the ceramics across countries. Moreover, while trade in some ceramic types increased in one site, for example Vietnamese and Japanese porcelain, it may have decreased the trade of other ceramics, like Chinese porcelain. Thus, it is evident that these trends must be studied more closely and in more detail on a case by case basis to be able to provide a clearer picture of overall average trends in the ceramic trade, and how effectively these act as proxies for the socioeconomic environment during the 14th through 18th centuries.

[32] Particularly relevant are the following works: 2007 (with J. M. Skibo) A History of the Kalinga Ethnoarchaeological Project. In *Archaeological Anthropology: Perspectives on Method and Theory*, edited by J. M. Skibo, M. W. Graves, and M. T. Stark: 93-110. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, as well as 2006 Stark, M.T. (editor). *Archaeology of Asia*. Blackwell Publishing Inc., Malden, Massachusetts.

[33] Of particular relevance to this thesis is Skibo, J. (2013). Understanding Pottery Function. Springer.

Is ceramic trade a useful proxy for studying the socioeconomic environment across the Philippine archipelago?

Despite the caveats about the data available, as well as the method of analysis I used, it is clear that ceramic trade provides valuable insight into studying the socioeconomic environment across the Philippine archipelago. While ceramic trade should not (and cannot) be the only source for analyzing the social and economic changes in the Philippines from the 14th through the 18th centuries, the cross-disciplinary investigation allows us a deeper glimpse into the cultural, political, as well as social relations that existed among the Philippines and its other maritime trade partners. It also gives us much information about the diverse reactions and interactions of Philippine *barangays* to Spanish control, as well as how the level of Spanish political control was affected by social and cultural relationships between Philippine *barangays* and their maritime trade partners.

However, it is important to note that solely studying porcelain and high quality trade ceramics may provide a skewed and biased picture. These goods were largely produced for and used by the elite class as well as for religious purposes. As is the common case in archaeological research, it is important not to extrapolate these more elite uses to or forget how they were used by the lower social and economic classes. While my thesis focused on international maritime trade, it is important to remember that pottery and ceramics were also produced within the archipelago, and that much trade occurred within *barangays* in the Philippines. These relationships could provide much information that will probe deeper into how inter-archipelagic interactions affected trade, as well as political jurisdiction.

Another important facet of this issue that will be useful to study in the future is how the production, consumption, and distribution of locally produced ceramics changed over time. It would be beneficial to see how these pieces of pottery were manufactured, as well as if they were

traded only locally or globally as well. The motifs, decoration, and uses of these goods are other important aspects that could provide useful insight for future studies.

Conclusion

Ceramic trade is an extensive proxy that allows us to study the social and economic effects of colonization on the Philippine archipelago. The frequency and density of trade ceramics in Southeast Asia during pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times allows us to have a good idea of trade patterns throughout the duration of the 14th through the 18th century. While much work still needs to be done to gain a holistic understanding of the effects of European colonialism on indigenous populations in the Philippines, the cross-disciplinary method I used in my research attempts to bridge the gap between the economic and archaeological perspectives on this issue. I hope that this thesis and its contents provide an innovative, fresh, and interesting angle on the effects of colonialism on indigenous populations by asking relevant questions that continue an ongoing discussion pertinent to many countries today—effects that continue to be relevant both to economic growth, sociocultural heritage, cultural conservation, and national biographies.

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