

# The Ceramics from the Plantation Site, A Twentieth-Century Settlement in Southern Vietnam

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## INTRODUCTION

**I**N THE COURSE of the Second Indochina War, the province of Bien Hoa in southern Vietnam was the scene of intensive military activity, resulting in the drastic modification of the earlier colonial landscape. The construction of an American military compound along Provincial Highway 316 about 25 km northeast of Saigon nearly destroyed the remains of a colonial settlement that local tradition identified as a managerial complex associated with a rubber plantation (Fig. 1). The compound itself bore the name "Plantation" because of its proximity to lands formerly devoted to rubber cultivation.

While on military duty in Vietnam in 1970, I observed the presence of an extensive deposit of ceramic archaeological materials in a concentrated area which will be referred to here as the Plantation site. This paper will analyze materials from the Plantation site in order to accomplish two goals. The first is to call attention to and systematically describe a group of ceramics largely ignored because of their late date of manufacture and their lack of artistic significance.

As the by-product of a cultural system, the artifacts from the Plantation site should reflect aspects of the system's operation at the place where they were deposited. Consequently, it is often possible to identify the function of a past settlement on the basis of the archaeological remains it has generated. The second goal of this paper is to examine the archaeological data, together with available documentary information, in an attempt to verify the assumption that the site represents the remains of a plantation managerial settlement.

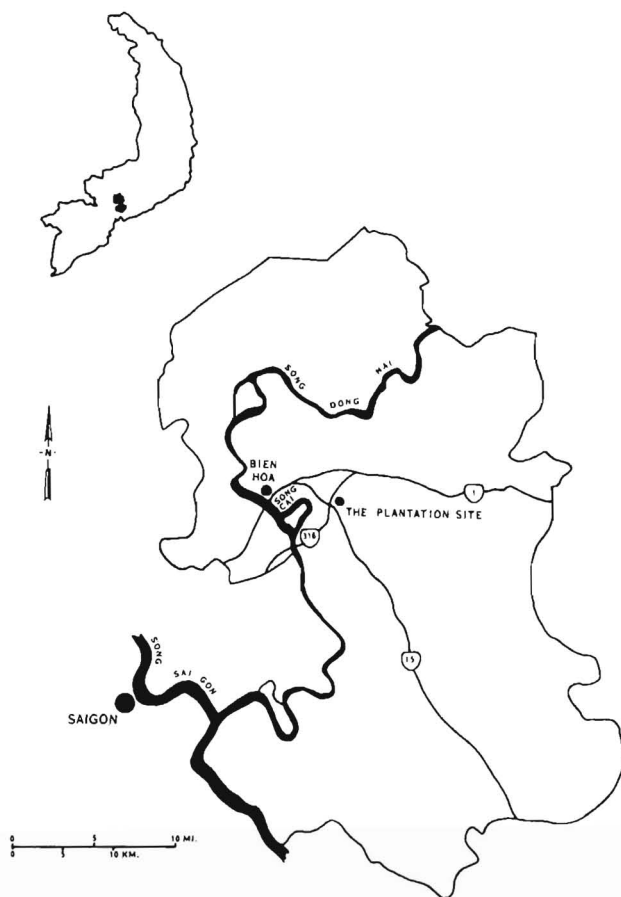


Fig. 1 Location of the Plantation site in Bien Hoa Province, Vietnam.

#### SITE DESCRIPTION AND METHODOLOGY

The Plantation site is located on the east side of Provincial Highway 316 approximately 450 m north of its intersection with National Highway 15 in Bien Hoa Province (Fig. 1). The site lies on a gentle slope adjacent to the Rach Ba Xahn, a tributary stream emptying into the Song Cai, which in turn flows into the Song Saigon (Fig. 2). Recent alluvial soils composed chiefly of clayey sands characterize the immediate vicinity of the site, while the surrounding area consists of ancient alluvium with outcroppings of granite, andesite-porphry, and quartz-diorite. In 1970, the site was covered in scrub grass which had grown up following recent construction and land-clearing activities there. Some evidence of previous forest or grove vegetation was also evident (National Geographic Service 1967).

The construction of the Plantation military compound appears to have disturbed the entire area occupied by earlier settlements there, destroying any structures and other features associated with the site. All that remained at the time the collection was made was a scatter of ceramic artifacts covering an area 60 by 170 m with a denser accumulation

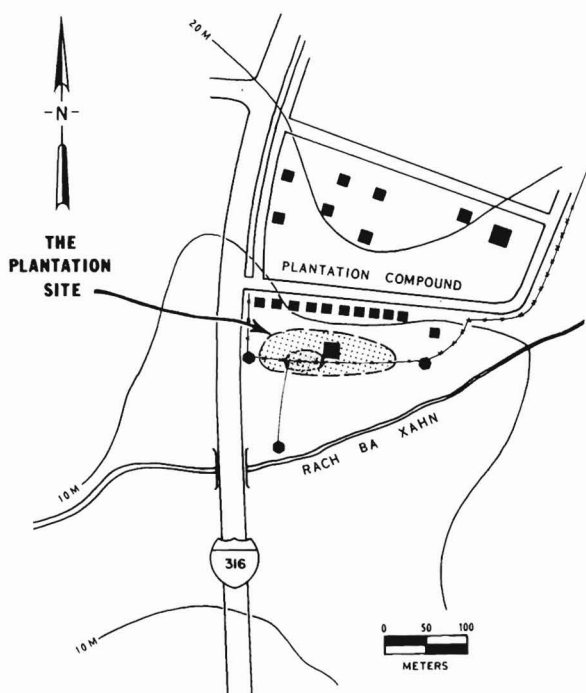


Fig. 2 Map of the Plantation site.

occurring near the center of the site (Fig. 2). The site area had been graded to form a portion of the Plantation compound's defensive perimeter. Part of the site extended into the fortifications and was not accessible to collecting. The ceramics lay on the surface, where they had been exposed as a result of erosion. The reason for the absence of other types of artifacts is unclear. It may be due to separate discard of ceramics in the past or the differential effects of erosion on the disturbed site. The absence of objects composed of certain metals or organic substances may also be the result of the action of the highly lateritic soils and the wet tropical climate on these materials.

The archaeological materials from the Plantation site represent a general surface collection of all the accessible portions of the site. Because the grading of the site area was assumed to have severely disturbed the horizontal provenience and original context of the artifacts, and because of restrictions imposed by the site's current use, no attempt was made to stratify the collecting horizontally or to conduct subsurface testing.

Because it is uncertain if the ceramic artifacts recovered from the Plantation site were deposited alone or as part of a more extensive artifact assemblage, it is hazardous to attempt to identify accurately the nature of the past activities that generated them. If, however, the artifacts are seen as a sample of the total ceramic discard produced by a particular settlement, then it should be possible, based on a knowledge of ceramic usage in that society, to use these artifacts to answer certain questions regarding the nature of a site's past occupants and perhaps even its function. This sample should also provide an initial statement regarding the diversity of ceramics in use during this recent yet archaeologically unknown period of Southeast Asian history.

## THE PLANTATION SITE: DOCUMENTARY CLUES TO ITS IDENTITY

To gain a better knowledge of the historical and cultural context in which the Plantation site's occupation took place, it is necessary to review available documentary sources relating to the area in which it was situated. If it is assumed that the site represents the remains of a colonial period settlement, then it will be helpful to confine this summary to that period and to those social and economic processes associated with it.

The documentary study of the Plantation site will be conducted in two parts. The first will focus on written sources relating to general aspects of settlement in the Bien Hoa area and the development of those economic activities most prominent there. This information may help not only to approximate potential temporal limits of colonial settlement in this area, but also to provide a more complete picture of the types of settlements associated with the activities carried out there.

The second part will consist of a review of available graphic sources portraying the vicinity of the site. These documents should reveal the locations of settlements and activities in this area and provide clues to the identity of the settlement as well as to its general function.

The French colonial presence in Bien Hoa Province dates to the beginning of the conquest of Cochin China, which comprised the southern part of present-day Vietnam. This province was one of three ceded to the French in 1861, and Bien Hoa town on the Song Dong Nai was the site of a French military garrison established to secure the area (Ennis 1936: 41). At the time of the French conquest, Cochin China was still a frontier area actively undergoing Vietnamese colonization (Robequain 1944: 65). Much of the occupied land was under rice cultivation by Vietnamese colonists. While rice growing would increase under French control to become the major export commodity in Indochina and the area devoted to its cultivation would expand enormously in the southern part of Vietnam (Ennis 1936: 112; Thompson 1937: 16), rice growing was never practiced in the vicinity of the Plantation site. Rice fields in the vicinity of the Plantation site appear to be restricted to the lowlands adjacent to the major rivers.

Unlike the cultivation of rice, rubber growing was not brought into Cochin China by Vietnamese colonists but rather was introduced by the French as a cash crop in 1898 following the success of rubber in nearby British Malaya (Buttinger 1967: 535). One of the earliest plantings was carried out in Binh Duong Province just west of Bien Hoa (see Fig. 3; Robequain 1944: 202). Rubber cultivation began on a larger scale around 1906 with the establishment of plantations by French colonists in the "grey lands" located north and east of Saigon and the "red lands" stretching from the Mekong delta to the plateaus of Cambodia (Ngo 1973: 106; Buttinger 1967: 535). By the close of World War I, rubber plantations in Vietnam had expanded to cover 29,000 hectares, of which 20,000 hectares were in the provinces of Bien Hoa, Binh Duong, Tay Ninh, and Phuoc Tuy (Fig. 3). Aided by government subsidies and the 1922 British Stevenson Plan, which regulated the production of rubber in British Malaya, the Indochina rubber industry began to expand at a rate of 15,000 hectares a year and after 1925 represented half the total French agricultural investment there (Thompson 1937: 17). In 1929, the tonnage of rubber production had quadrupled the output of 1920 (Ennis 1936: 116). Despite a temporary setback caused by falling rubber prices following the repeal of the Stevenson Plan and a subsequent depression in 1929, the rubber industry survived into the 1930s with the aid of government subsidies (Thompson 1937: 17). World War II brought disruption to the rubber



Fig. 3 Provincial map of a portion of southern Vietnam.

industry, from which it recovered briefly in 1946. Hostilities between the French and the Viet Minh resulted in a reduction of the exploitable land area and available labor force, necessitating more intensive exploitation of the existing plantations. The industry remained intact following Vietnamese independence in 1954, but with an increase in hostilities in the 1960s, production declined rapidly. Apparently, this trend had not been reversed by 1977 (Buttinger 1967: 536; Republic of Vietnam 1972: 72; McIndoe 1969: 2-3; Pike 1977: 37).

The Plantation site lies in an area where rubber cultivation began relatively early. The grey podzolic soils on old alluvium which characterize much of Bien Hoa Province are well suited to the growing of *Hevea brasiliensis*, as are the red latosols on basalt lying further to the west (McIndoe 1969: 12). Unlike the red lands, on which the development of large rubber estates took place, the grey lands around Saigon attracted small individual or corporate investors to set up small holdings. The suitability of the land for cultivation, the presence of a nearby permanent labor supply, and a close proximity to the markets of Saigon permitted the success of small-scale operations with a minimum of capital investment. By 1921, the grey lands north and east of Saigon had been colonized by a large number of plantations less than 100 hectares in size as well as several larger ones of more than 500 hectares that were owned by joint stock companies (Robequain 1944: 203-204).

Throughout the colonial period, rubber plantations remained largely a French monopoly (Sokol 1970: 10). In 1930, 99 percent of the rubber acreage in Vietnam had been colonized by Frenchmen (Ennis 1936: 131), in contrast to their owning less than half of the

total lands colonized at this time (Ngo 1973: 18). The large plantations, which controlled 68 percent of the area planted in rubber, were dominated by holding companies and remained under French control following independence (Buttinger 1967: 337); however, an increase in rubber ownership by Vietnamese did occur on the smaller holdings. For example, of 32 plantations still operating in Bien Hoa Province in 1965 (just before the abrupt decline in rubber production resulting from the Second Indochina War), 25 were owned by Vietnamese (McIndoe 1969: app.).

Although the early plantations were able to use local labor supplies for the maintenance and cultivation of the rubber trees, the expansion of rubber planting into new, more sparsely settled areas necessitated the importation of workers from the more populous North (Robequain 1944: 213). The demand for labor resulted in the development of a contract labor system by which individuals were recruited for periods of several years and then returned home. Notorious conditions on many of the plantations resulted in a high level of attrition among the workers and a consequent high turnover rate. The ratio of contract laborers remaining in the South to the total number employed annually on the plantations was generally low in the 1920s and, although an average of 3000 a year became permanent residents, in some years the returnees outnumbered immigrants (Robequain 1944: 56). Accommodations for plantation workers varied. Ngo (1973: 108-109) has described a plantation in Bien Hoa Province that housed its workers in thatch huts in a central location separated from the rubber lots. On larger plantations such as the Michelin holding at Dau Tieng in Binh Duong Province (Fig. 3), workers lived in several settlements scattered throughout the plantation. The French managerial staff here, as elsewhere, was quartered in a separate complex (Braeske 1969: 24).

During the post-World War II period, rubber planting, especially in Bien Hoa Province, was affected by the political struggle for the control of Vietnam. As early as 1945, Vietnamese resistance to the French had become centered in the area north of Saigon and Bien Hoa city. Phu Cuong, the capital of neighboring Binh Duong Province, had to be occupied by a British force to secure the area following the departure of the Japanese (Buttinger 1967: 624). Guerrilla activity remained concentrated in the Binh Duong-Bien Hoa area after independence and increased markedly after 1958 despite efforts of the Republic of Vietnam to eliminate the direct threat to Saigon (Wolf 1969: 195). The forests, marshes, and rubber plantations of the area proved unfavorable to the operation of government forces (Braeske 1969: 28; Buttinger 1967: 1164). With the increased involvement of the American military in Vietnam after 1964, the level of fighting in the Bien Hoa area accelerated (Sheehan 1971: 329). As a result, attempts were made to extend government control outward from Saigon to secure densely populated areas and certain dispersed economic facilities, including rubber plantations (Westmoreland 1969: 115). In 1967, a major movement of American forces out of Saigon took place. The greater part of the units involved were relocated in Bien Hoa Province and were centered around a massive facility at Long Binh, 26 km east of Saigon (see Fig. 3; Westmoreland 1976: 248). These bases remained in use by the Vietnamese military following the American withdrawal in 1972, and, since the fall of the Republic of Vietnam in 1975, some appear to have been occupied by elements of the People's Army of Vietnam (Pike 1977: 37).

The intensity of military activity in Bien Hoa Province and other rubber-growing areas has had a harmful effect upon the plantations. The insecurity of the post-World War II period resulted in a loss of labor either to government conscription or Viet Minh/Viet Cong recruitment. Attempts to intensify production served only to place a heavier burden

on the remaining rubber workers (Ngo 1973: 115). In addition to a curtailment of production resulting from labor shortages, rubber plantations suffered directly from military activities in the Second Indochina War. Aerial bombardment and shelling destroyed the rubber trees, as did the aerial application of defoliants (Oriens and Pfeiffer 1970: 549). Rubber stands along roads were cleared to eliminate potential ambush sites and to create fire zones. Buildings and factory installations were destroyed and plantation sites were occupied as sites of military bases (McIndoe 1969: 1; Braeske 1969: 28). The effect of military-related disruption is reflected in statistics of rubber production in the postwar period which show only a slight increase in output prior to 1961, followed by a marked decline despite an enlargement of the total area planted in rubber (Fall 1967: 296). McIndoe (1969: 4) has estimated that the larger plantations had suffered at least a 30 percent reduction in cultivated area by 1968. In Bien Hoa Province, plantations overall were producing on only 50 to 75 percent of the total area planted in 1966 (U.S. State Department 1968: 137).

To determine the proximity of the Plantation site to settlements and activities carried out in the past, a series of maps reflecting land use and ownership over a period of approximately forty years may be examined. The earliest map of the area containing the Plantation site (Fig. 4) is a topographic map prepared in 1926. It reveals that at that time, much

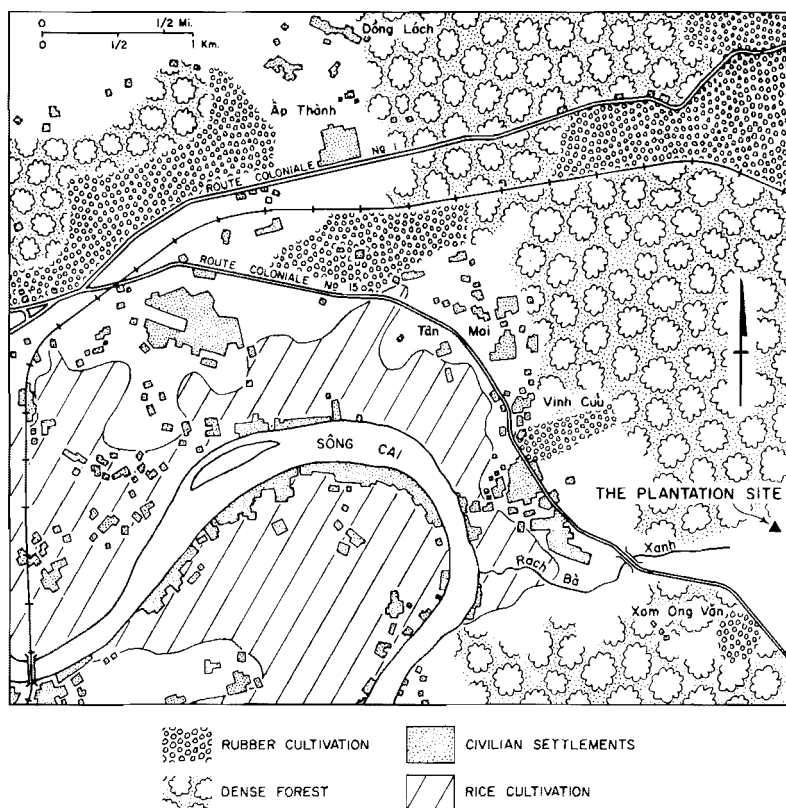


Fig. 4 Portion of Bien Hoa Province in 1926 showing the extent of rubber cultivation in the area.

of the area north and east of the Song Cai was in mixed forest, with rice being cultivated in the bottomlands adjacent to that river and its tributaries. Several areas of rubber cultivation are also in evidence. Two large plantations lie adjacent to Route Coloniale No. 1 and several smaller ones are situated to the south along Route Coloniale No. 15. One plantation located east of the settlement of Ong Van (Tam Hiep) is just south of the Plantation site. This plantation, like the others, is unnamed and no structures are shown on it (Service Géographique 1926).

The second map, printed in 1929, indicates land ownership and reveals the presence of several large rubber holdings in the vicinity of the Plantation site (Fig. 5). The Champanhét holding of 91.10 hectares is situated on the north side of Route Coloniale No. 15. The Plantation site appears to lie just within its boundaries. Two other rubber holdings are found directly across from one another on Route 15. They are a 60.67 hectare plantation owned by a Vezia and a 188.97 hectare holding belonging to a Guery (Service Géographique 1929).

The third map (Fig. 6) was published in 1939. It shows two large plantations in the vicinity of the Plantation site. The first of these is the 405.56 hectare holding of Société Française Agricole des Plantations Heveas, which lies just north of Route Coloniale No. 15. The Plantation site lies just east of its southeastern corner. To the southeast of the site, a 220.98 hectare plantation owned by Guery and Giacomoni extends along the south bank of the Rach Ba Xanh on both sides of Route Coloniale No. 15. The presence of these two large plantations and numerous others in the area attests to an expansion of rubber cultivation since 1929. The proximity of the Plantation site to the two large plan-

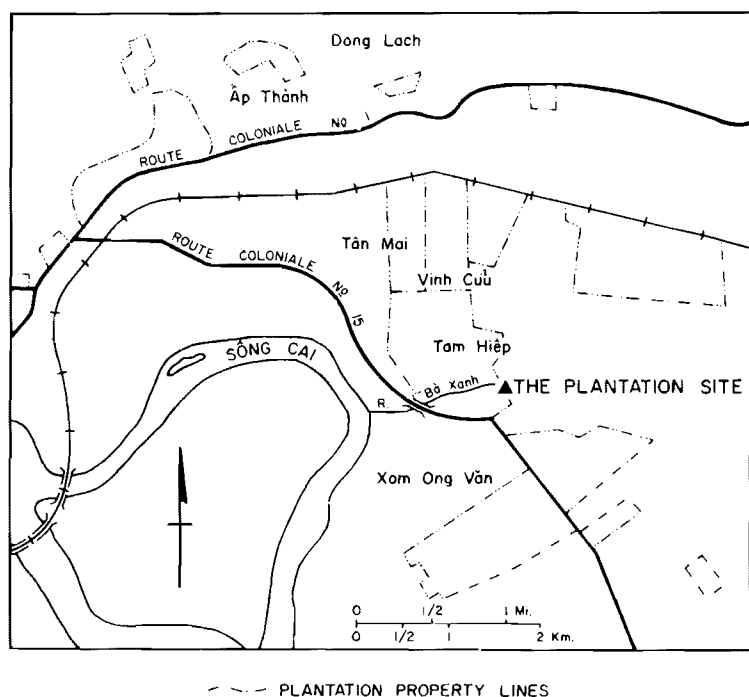


Fig. 5 Rubber holdings in Bien Hoa Province in 1929.



tations along Route 15 suggests that a past settlement there was associated with one of them (Cadastre et Topographie 1939).

During the war years (1940–1945), several military maps were made of the Bien Hoa area, all of which employ the 1926 topographic map as a base map with significant new features added. Both the Japanese General Staff map of 1940 (Japanese General Staff 1940) and the British Survey map of 1942 portray the area between Routes Coloniales No. 1 and No. 15 as being generally wooded, with rubber plantations situated south of Route 1 and near the village of Vinh Cuu. Because these locations are nearly identical to those shown on the 1926 map, it is uncertain if they were updated for these military maps.

In 1945, the French colonial government of Indochina issued an updated topographic maps series (Service Géographique 1945) which reveals the extent of land actually under rubber cultivation at the close of World War II. An inspection of this map shows that areas of rubber growing include those appearing on the 1926 map as well as others that would fall within the 1939 holdings of the Société Française des Plantations Heveas and of Guery and Giacomoni (Fig. 7). Because the cultivated areas shown here are somewhat smaller than the holdings indicated on the 1939 map, it is likely that the latter reveal the boundaries of the plantations within which more restricted areas of planting took place.

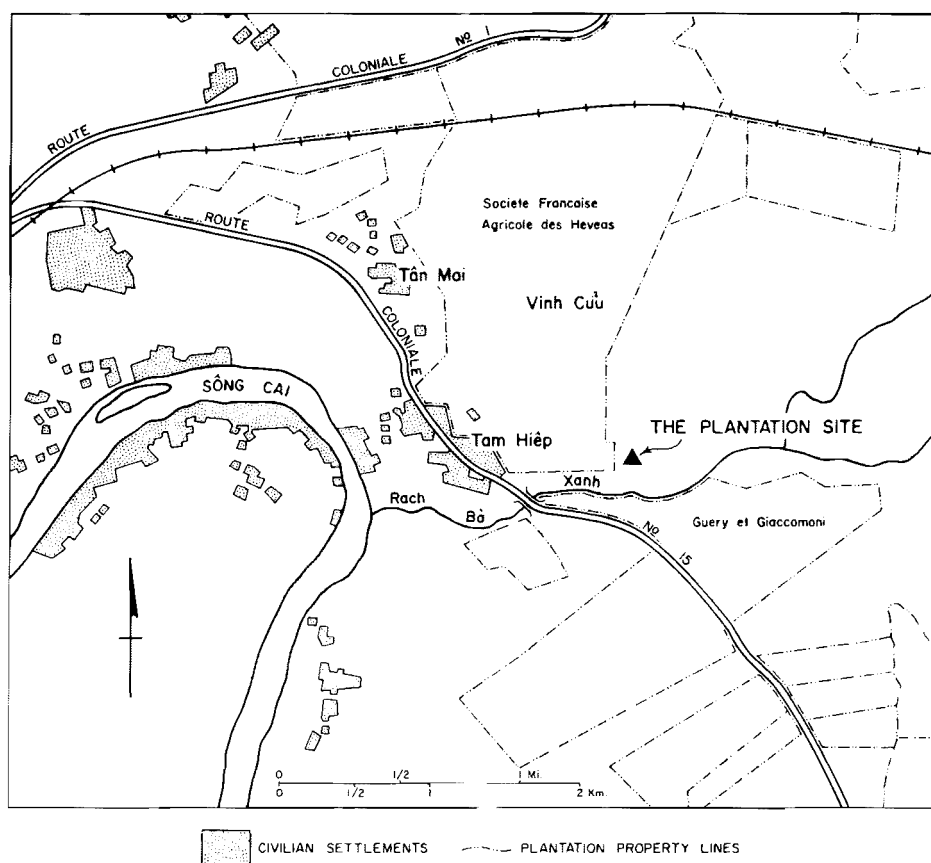


Fig. 6 Rubber holdings in Bien Hoa Province in 1939.

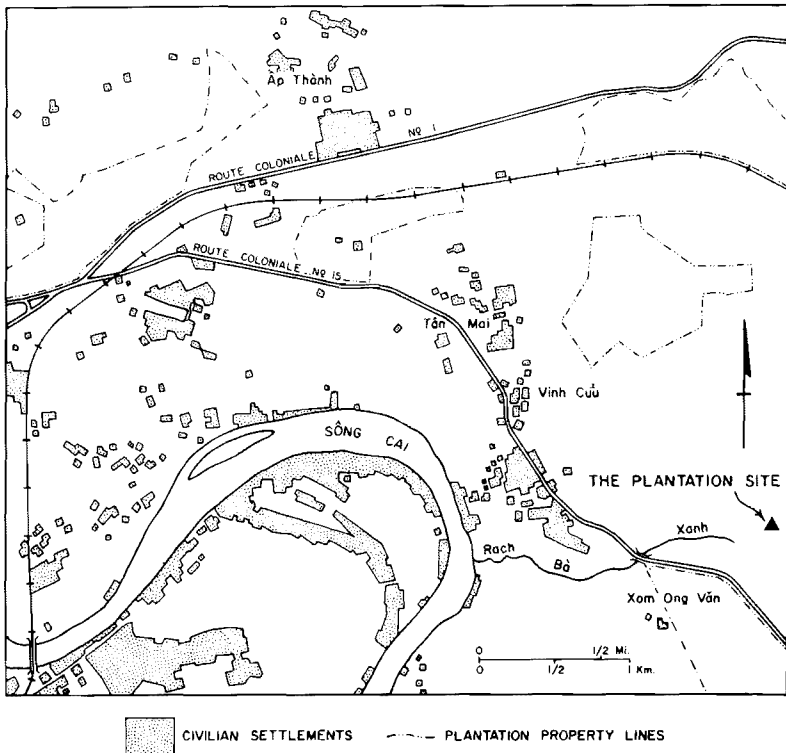


Fig. 7 Rubber holdings in Bien Hoa Province at the close of World War II.

The proximity of the Plantation site to rubber plantings in the area of the old Guery and Giacomoni holding may evidence an affiliation between the site and this plantation.

A survey map published prior to the occurrence of extensive military activity and construction in the Bien Hoa area reveals the extent to which rubber cultivation existed in 1960 (Fig. 8). The most obvious change in the landscape is the construction of the Saigon-Bien Hoa highway (Provincial Highway 316) south from National Highway 1. The new highway appears to have cut through the western portion of the old Guery and Giacomoni plantation, and only a narrow strip of rubber plantings is visible south of National Highway 15. The large rubber holding south of National Highway 1 has also been greatly reduced by this time. The Plantation site is situated at a greater distance from rubber holdings at this time and lies on land described as cleared forest (Cadastral and Map General Service 1960).

The final map (Fig. 9) was published in 1967 and illustrates very marked changes in the landscape in the vicinity of the Plantation site. Land under rubber cultivation has been greatly reduced as a result of the construction of American and Republic of Vietnam military installations that stretch almost continuously along Provincial Highway 316 from Long Binh on the Song Dong Nai north to the road's intersection with National Highway 1. These installations have obliterated the rubber holdings on the old Guery and Giacomoni holding and greatly reduced in size the holdings south of Highway 1. The Plantation site is now surrounded by three military compounds in an area covered by

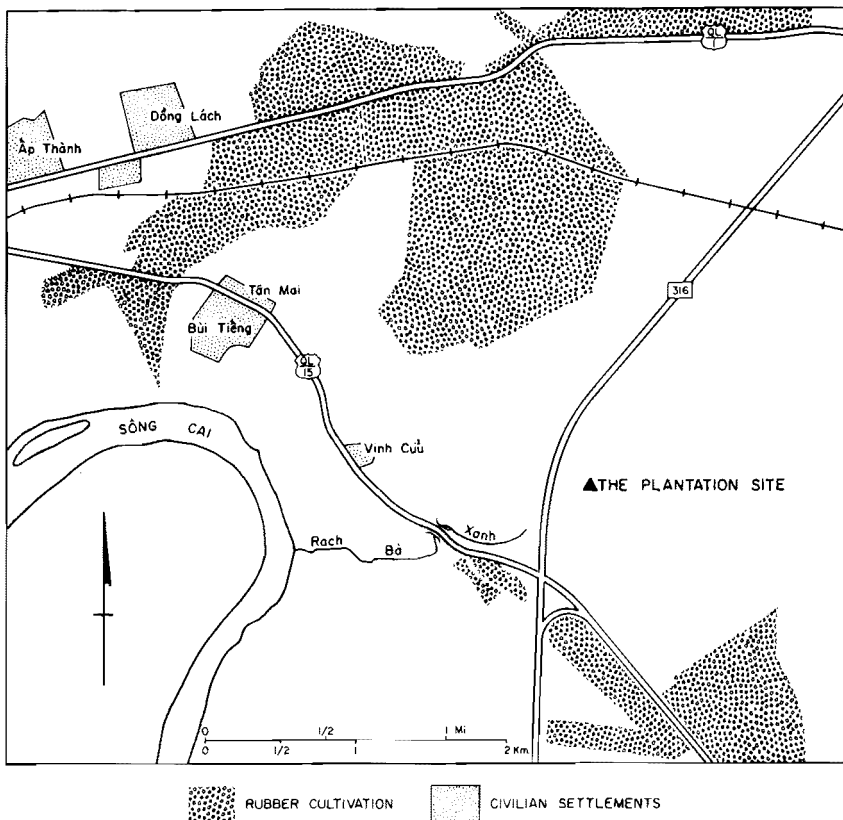


Fig. 8 Extent of rubber cultivation in Bien Hoa Province in 1960.

brushwood. The construction of the northernmost compound resulted in the present distribution of the archaeological materials on the site (National Geographic Service 1967). The appearance of this installation thus provides a *terminus ante quem* date for the occupation of earlier settlements here.

The map data indicate that the location of the Plantation site is in close proximity to the rubber plantations that were situated along National Highway 15 in Bien Hoa Province. No settlement is shown on or near the location of the site on any of the maps, however, making it impossible to identify the site by name. The absence of actual structure locations on all but two of the maps, and their sketchy appearance on these, does not permit us to correlate the site with a structure or group of structures. The maps provide little help in approximating the temporal range of the site's occupation. They indicate only that general settlement of the area had begun before 1926 and that between 1960 and 1967 a newly constructed military settlement superseded that of the Plantation site.

In summary, the documentary sources provide only indirect evidence relating to the identification of the type of settlement associated with the Plantation site. The colonial economy in Bien Hoa Province was dominated throughout the French period by rubber cultivation. This activity began prior to World War I but did not become widespread until the rubber boom of the 1920s. Maps from this period show scattered plantings in

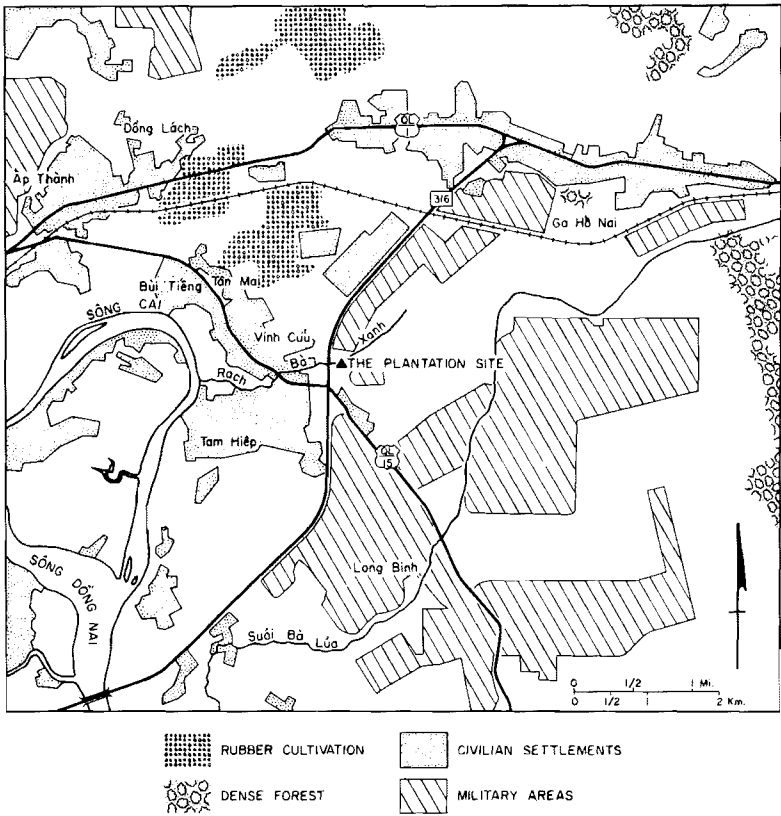


Fig. 9 Bien Hoa Province in 1967 showing the decline of rubber cultivation and the expansion of military activity associated with the Second Indochina War.

the vicinity of the Plantation site. These are associated with the earliest plantations in an area previously covered in forest and presumably represent the small holdings that characterized the early development of the grey lands of Bien Hoa. Because no settlement is indicated in the exact location of the Plantation site, it is not likely to represent an established Vietnamese village. Its proximity to areas of rubber cultivation suggests, rather, that the site was formed by a new settlement affiliated with a plantation. Subsequent maps reflect the growth of the Bien Hoa area as a center of rubber cultivation in the 1930s, its retardation during and after World War II, and its marked decline in the 1960s. The location of the Plantation site is never shown as a settlement, yet it lies on or adjacent to plantation lands throughout this period. The erection of American military bases along Provincial Highway 316 in 1967 resulted in the destruction of the Plantation site, although it is possible that the settlement there may have been abandoned earlier.

If, as suggested by the documentary data, the Plantation site represents the remains of a plantation settlement, it is likely to have had one of two general functions. Because plantations were characterized by a segregation of owners' and workers' living areas, these are likely to appear archaeologically as spatially distinct sites. Each may also be characterized by differing material assemblages associated with the particular group that occupied

them. If the Plantation site is that of a managerial complex, it would be likely to contain those archaeological materials associated with owners' living and working areas. In the following section, an attempt will be made to define those ceramic data classes capable of discerning the occurrence of such an occupation.

#### A MODEL FOR CERAMIC USE IN COLONIAL VIETNAM

Documentary evidence and tradition have suggested that the Plantation site represents the remains of a plantation managerial settlement. To determine the likelihood that such a settlement would generate ceramic discard distinguishable from that of a plantation workers' settlement, it is necessary to investigate variation in ceramic usage by these two groups. The results may be summarized in a model of ceramic use that predicts, in general, expected differences in the ceramic content of the two types of plantation site.

The use of ceramics in southern Vietnam reflects both the frontier nature of the area and the impact of French mercantile policy on the colony. Historically, ceramics have formed a part of Vietnamese material culture since the Neolithic. Early Indochinese pottery shares strong affinities with the cord- and fabric-impressed ceramic tradition of South China (Suggs 1960: 62). Localized ceramic traditions are characterized by the production of earthenwares developed in Indochina during subsequent periods, supplemented by the importation of stonewares and later porcelains from China (Solheim 1965: 268). The influence of Chinese ceramic technology was strongest in the North, where the early Vietnamese state of Nam Viet remained under Chinese rule for nearly a millennium. The manufacture and export of stonewares and porcelains resembling those of China were carried out in Tonkin as early as the thirteenth century and flourished at least as late as the seventeenth century (Honey 1945: 164-165; Matthews 1962: 241). These ceramics were generally known as Annamese wares and much of their export was directed toward other parts of Southeast Asia, including the newly settled Vietnamese territories along the Indochina peninsula. Robequain (1944: 33) notes that porcelain was one of the major commodities traded by the Chinese merchants in the Vietnamese ports at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The ceramic industry in Tonkin was so substantial that the Dutch East India Company began to reexport Annamese wares as early as 1662 (Brown 1977: 20). In most of Vietnam, however, pottery making was conducted at the local level and large-scale industries like those in Tonkin and China never developed. Ceramics, especially porcelains, remained an imported commodity throughout the nineteenth century (Woodside 1971: 31; Lamb 1970: 262).

Following the conquest of Indochina, France attempted to develop its colony as a market for French manufactured goods. When it became obvious, however, that France could not produce all of the articles required by the Vietnamese, a limited number of products were permitted to be imported into the colony from elsewhere. For the most part, products entered from China (Thompson 1937: 19). Prior to the imposition of the 1929 tariff restricting non-French imports, ceramics was one of the Chinese products regularly imported into Vietnam (Ennis 1936: 136). In the 1930s, the increased trade with France resulted in a decline in the volume of Chinese imports (Robequain 1944: 43). China, however, remained the second largest exporter to Indochina in the period prior to World War II (see Ennis 1936: 144). The trade with China continued to provide the Vietnamese with affordable products. French imports, on the other hand, were not intended for the Vietnamese masses but rather for consumption by the European colonists, the

Vietnamese bourgeois class which had adopted many aspects of French culture, and the colonial government (Thompson 1937: 18; Ngo 1973: 105; Robequain 1944: 87). Although French ceramics were imported into Vietnam throughout the colonial period (Robequain 1944: 334), it is doubtful that they were intended for, or formed a part of, the material culture of most Vietnamese.

Little is known of the Vietnamese ceramic industry immediately after the seventeenth century. Production in Tonkin apparently continued and certain centers, such as Bat Trang, which arose in the fifteenth century, have remained active to the present (Brown 1977: 23). Following the French conquest, attempts were made to establish potteries in Vietnam. Porcelain factories were set up under French ownership at Hanoi and Haiphong in the 1920s, while earthenwares for domestic use were manufactured on a smaller scale in workshops run by Chinese or Vietnamese potters (Robequain 1944: 272; Ngo 1973: 102). In general, these potteries were located in northern or central Vietnam, where rural craft industries were well established prior to French rule (Smith et al. 1967b: 307; Wolf 1969: 170). Local centers of pottery making also developed in Cochinchina, where Chinese immigrant potters from Fukien had settled at the beginning of the twentieth century (Brown 1977: 23). In addition to the center at Lai Thieu, an industry also grew up around Bien Hoa (Robequain 1944: 247). These potteries have maintained production into the postcolonial period, turning out tableware as well as elephants, garden pots, vases, and *nagas* for the crests of Buddhist temples (Brown 1977: 23; Smith et al. 1967a: 345).

On the basis of the foregoing discussion, it is possible to formulate the following model of ceramic use in colonial Vietnam. Because of the separate and distinct cultural backgrounds of colonist and native in French colonial Vietnam, each group was accustomed to the use of a different set of artifacts in the course of domestic activities. Similarly, the countries from which these groups originated produced for the most part only those types of ceramics used by their people. Restrictive French trade regulations severely limited the countries from which ceramics could be imported, eliminating nearly all products but those of France, China, and Vietnam from use in the French colony. For these reasons, it should be possible to identify the users by ascertaining the origin of the ceramics.

The major sources of ceramics in Vietnam are France, which produced European ceramic types exclusively, China, which produced Oriental types for the Southeast Asian trade, and Vietnam, which produced Oriental types for domestic use. In general, the French ceramics would have been used by French colonists and the acculturated Vietnamese bourgeois class. Chinese and Vietnamese ceramics, on the other hand, would have been used almost exclusively by the Vietnamese. Acculturated Vietnamese may have used them in combination with European ceramics. If the use of the three kinds of ceramics may be linked to the various social groups in colonial Vietnam, then it is likely that the sites of the settlements they occupied may also be identified by the kinds of ceramics deposited there.

Socioeconomic status in colonial Vietnam was related to social group, with the Europeans occupying the highest statuses, followed in descending order by acculturated Vietnamese and the Vietnamese population in general. Just as it is possible to relate ceramic use at a past settlement to the group that lived there, it should also be possible to identify the group on the basis of the ceramics they discarded. If the Plantation site represents the remains of a colonial period managerial settlement, then the site should be characterized

by the presence of those ceramic types used by the social groups likely to have occupied this status. In colonial Vietnam, these groups would have included either French or acculturated Vietnamese and their Vietnamese servants. The activity areas of such persons would result in a mixed context likely to be characterized by the presence of European ceramics as well as those of Chinese and Vietnamese origin. On the other hand, archaeological contexts representing those areas utilized by the Vietnamese laborers and servants who lived apart from the managerial area are likely to be characterized solely by ceramics of Vietnamese or Chinese origin.

The preceding model has outlined an apparent relationship among social groups, status, and ceramic use in colonial Vietnam. Although the model is general because of the limited information regarding ceramic use in colonial Vietnamese society, it should be capable of distinguishing the two types of plantation settlement that are likely to have existed at the Plantation site.

## THE CERAMICS FROM THE PLANTATION SITE

### *Introduction*

A total of 373 ceramic specimens was recovered during the survey of the Plantation site. Because both domestic and imported ceramics were used in colonial Vietnam, an attempt will be made to classify the archaeological material by country of origin. The nationality of this material is also the critical variable by which the two types of plantation settlements specified in the model may be distinguished archaeologically. Each of the national classes of ceramics defined here will be constructed on the basis of a series of ranked categories of technological characteristics. These categories in progressively subordinate order are: paste, glaze, decorative style or elements, and vessel form (cf. Powell 1962: 44-45). The tentative ceramic types defined by this classification are, of course, arbitrary and may or may not correspond to groups that have been recognized for Asian ceramics.<sup>1</sup> The types will, however, be compared whenever possible to traditional ceramic groups.

This section will include detailed descriptions of the ceramic types falling within each of the larger national classes. It should result in the construction of a working typology for at least a portion of the ceramics used in Vietnam during the colonial period. This typology will be especially useful in the case of the Vietnamese ceramics because the form and variety of these are largely unknown at present. The discussion of each ceramic class will be accompanied by a brief summary statement about the ceramic industries in the country represented by the class. These should provide background information regarding the ceramic traditions within which the artifacts were produced.

### *Chinese Ceramics during the Colonial Period*

It lies beyond the scope of this discussion to summarize the background of the ceramics of China, one of the oldest and best-documented ceramic traditions in the world. Rather, we shall be concerned only with the more recent part of that tradition, that occurring in the nineteenth century or later. The period of colonialism in Vietnam took place during the decline of imperial China as a political and economic power, a decline that is reflected by the Chinese ceramic industry. By the close of the nineteenth century, China had fallen

under the economic domination of Western powers. The ceramic industry, while still active, suffered a decline in both technical and stylistic quality, and much of the porcelain produced at that time imitated older styles. Porcelain, especially that intended for export, often combined stylistic elements and became "overdecorated" (Honey 1945: 142; Savage 1954: 89). The industrial production of porcelains and other ceramics increased during this time, resulting in a proliferation of moldmade, mechanically decorated pottery.

By the nineteenth century, porcelain had become the dominant ceramic material in China, replacing both earthenware and stoneware in many functional categories of pottery (Savage 1959: 78). Utilitarian wares, especially those manufactured for sale to peasants or other low-status groups, still appear to have been manufactured of all three paste types. Unfortunately, Chinese ceramics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, particularly nonporcelains, have not been extensively studied and consequently are not well described in the literature (Honey 1945: 142; Savage 1959: 73).

Several important ceramics factories that operated during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1912) are known. A major center for porcelain production was Kiangsi Province, within which the imperial factory at Ching-tê Chên was situated. This area was devastated during the Tai-ping Rebellion in 1853. The imperial factory was destroyed and production there ceased for 11 years (Honey 1945: 142). Te-hua to the south in Fukien Province produced large quantities of undecorated porcelain (*blanc de Chine*) during this time (Savage 1954: 80). The manufacture of red unglazed stoneware was centered around Yi-hsing in Kiangsu Province and in Kuangtung Province on the southern coast (Savage 1959: 71-72). Fatshan in Kuangtung Province concentrated on the production of stonewares with light blue glaze and Paoshan in Shantung Province made a white glazed stoneware (Jenyns 1951: 79). In addition to the porcelains of Te-hua, Fukien Province produced a great deal of earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain, including the Swatow wares that were exported to Southeast Asia, the Philippines, the East Indian Archipelago, India, and Japan for the most part after the late seventeenth century (Garner 1954: 55; Jenyns 1951: 82). Most of these factories apparently produced ceramics for both export and domestic use and were in operation at least during part of the colonial period in Vietnam. Numerous smaller provincial potteries produced earthenware and stoneware mostly for local or regional markets; however, almost no information is available concerning these factories or their products (Jenyns 1951: 78).

#### *Chinese Ceramics from the Plantation Site*

The ceramic collection from the Plantation site contains 104 specimens that are definitely Chinese in origin. These may be combined into 19 ceramic types on the basis of their physical attributes. The collection contains a sizable number of molded, transfer-printed porcelain vessels, characteristic of the industrialized ceramic products manufactured in China during the twentieth century. Other ceramics, notably the hand-painted earthenware-stonewares and the red unglazed stonewares, are also typical of this period. The ceramic types described below do not include anything that would appear to be out of place in a Southeast Asian settlement occupied at the same time as the Plantation site. In addition, their forms and quality of manufacture are suggestive of the utilitarian wares that would have been found in an ethnically Oriental habitation area.



*Chinese earthenware-stoneware<sup>2</sup>*

Type 1 (Plate Ia)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear, slightly bluish on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue design on vessel exterior consisting of the lion of Buddha (*Fo*) playing with a ball. This is a common motif on late Chinese ceramics (Savage 1954: 95). The use of transfer-printed decoration on this and other Chinese wares in the Plantation site collection is indicative of their recent origin and strongly suggests their manufacture in a large urban center of mass production (Karl L. Hutterer, personal communication).

*Form:* Molded cup or bowl.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 2 (Plate Ib, c, e)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, covered on both surfaces with a white slip except on base of foot. Several specimens are very high-fired and may be classified as porcelainous stonewares.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze blue transfer-printed design on vessel exterior consisting of the dragon (*ch'ih lung*) and flaming pearl. The rim of the vessel is decorated with a row of dragon's teeth. On several specimens the design pigment has diffused slightly in the glaze, resulting in a blurred design. The dragon is an extremely common motif on late Chinese ceramics. It is a spirit of the waters and symbolized the emperor (Savage 1954: 97).

*Form:* Bowls with high ring foot. Specimens appear to have been both molded and wheel-thrown.

*Number of specimens:* 27.

Type 3 (Plate Id)

*Paste:* Buff with a white slip on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue decoration on exterior of vessel consisting of open panels containing a bamboo floral motif alternating with panels containing the character *shou*, a symbol of long life (Savage 1954: 91) on a cloud and thunder fret (*lei wen*) background. The rim decoration consists of a diagonal diaper design.

*Form:* Bowls with high ring foot. Vessels appear to have been wheel-thrown.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

Type 4 (Plate If, g)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, covered with a white slip on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Slightly bluish on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue panel designs containing floral elements, a scene containing a structure, and a zone of cloud and thunder frets. A diagonal diaper appears below the rim. These designs appear on the exterior of the vessel.

*Form:* Bowls or cups. The specimens appear to have been molded.

*Number of specimens:* 4.

## Type 5 (Plate 1h)

*Paste:* Grey with a white slip on both surfaces.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze blue transfer-printed phoenix (*feng huang*) design on exterior side of vessel with a dragon's teeth design below the rim. The design is crude and is slightly diffused in the glaze. The phoenix is the sign of the empress, represents spring, and is always an auspicious symbol. It is common on late Chinese ceramics (Savage 1954: 97).

*Form:* Molded bowl.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

## Type 6 (Plate 1i, j)

*Paste:* White, grey, buff with a white slip on both surfaces except for base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on both surfaces except for base of foot.

*Decoration:* Decorations consist of underglaze blue freehand floral designs that occur on the interior or exterior of vessels or on both. The designs appear to be divided into zones paralleling the rim of the vessel. If the vessel has a shoulder, the design is often divided at this point. On several specimens the design pigment has "run" into the glaze, producing a blurred design.

The design elements appear to resemble those found on the "Swatow wares" made in Fukien Province in southern China and exported in large numbers to the Philippines, the East Indian Archipelago, and Japan after the middle of the sixteenth century (Garner 1954: 55-56). This style of decoration was still employed on southern Chinese pottery in recent times and these specimens very likely originated here, possibly around Canton (Hutterer, personal communication).

*Form:* Plates about 12 cm (4.7 in) in diameter with ring foot thrown on wheel. Shouldered bowl with ring foot thrown on wheel. Steep-sided wheel-thrown bowl with outturned rim.

*Number of specimens:* 13.

## Type 7 (Plate 1k, l)

*Paste:* Buff, grey, with a white slip on both surfaces.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Miscellaneous unidentified floral elements underglaze transfer-printed in blue on the exterior and interior surfaces of vessels. These elements appear to include plum blossom and probably bamboo. The overall design on the vessels is unknown, and this type is a residual category.

*Form:* Cups or bowls. One bowl exhibits an outflaring rim.

*Number of specimens:* 6.

## Type 8 (Plate 1m, n)

*Paste:* Buff with a white slip on both surfaces of some specimens and only on the exterior of others. All rims are unslipped.

*Glaze:* Clear on all slipped surfaces.

*Decoration:* Miscellaneous underglaze freehand blue decorative elements, including a portion of a Chinese character and a floral design with a dragonfly. This type is a residual

category for freehand decorative elements that cannot be identified as part of a larger design.

*Form:* Covered boxes and jars with inward stepped rims and a vertical-walled jar or vase with a ring foot. All the specimens appear to represent wheel-thrown vessels.

*Number of specimens:* 5.

#### *Chinese Stoneware*

##### Type 1 (Plate Io)

*Paste:* Red.

*Glaze:* None.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* Domed teapot lid with a knob in the center. It has been turned on a wheel, and the turning marks are still visible. The smooth exterior finish is imperfect and rough spots are present around the base of the knob. The interior surface exhibits numerous rough spots and nicks made prior to firing.

This specimen is likely to be a specimen of Yi-hsing stoneware manufactured in Kuangtung Province. Yi-hsing ware consists chiefly of teapots made of buff, brown, and reddish clays fired to stoneware hardness. Vessel surfaces are left unglazed and are smoothed, often exhibiting a faint sheen. The Yi-hsing potteries began production in the sixteenth century and continued into the twentieth. The manufacture of red stonewares was especially high in the nineteenth century (Honey 1945: 138; Savage 1954: 71).

Yi-hsing stonewares had a marked influence on the development of European ceramics in the eighteenth century. They had been shipped to Europe the century before with the first consignments of tea and, because the red stoneware was believed to be the best ware in which to brew this beverage, were imitated by potters in England, Holland, and Germany (Honey 1945: 138). As a result of their widespread use, these stonewares were often erroneously called Bucaro wares because of their similarity to Spanish red slipped earthenwares imported from Mexico (Lister and Lister 1976: 27). Red unglazed stonewares attained the height of their popularity in Europe and her colonies in the third quarter of the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1970: 121).

*Number of specimens:* 1.

#### *Chinese Porcelains*

##### Type 1 (Plate IIa)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue design containing peacocks and floral elements on the exterior of the vessel. A gold band is present on the rim.

*Form:* Molded bowls. The methods of manufacture and decoration of this type and most of the others in this group of porcelains identify them as industrially produced wares typical of those made in urban factories during the twentieth century (Hutterer, personal communication).

*Number of specimens:* 3.

##### Type 2 (Plate IIb)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

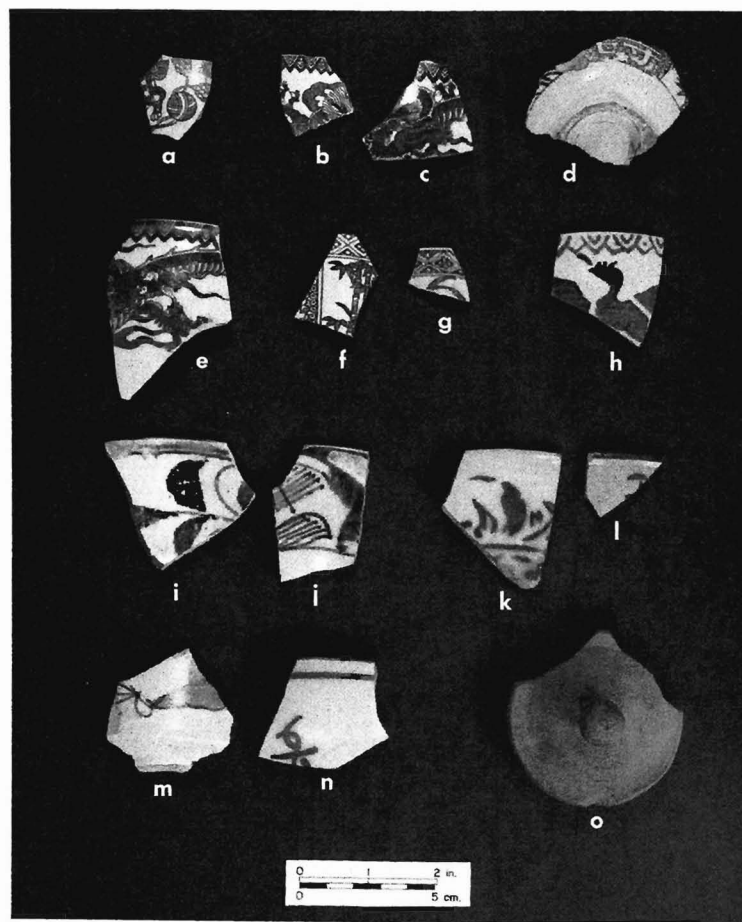


Plate I Chinese earthenware-stoneware types.

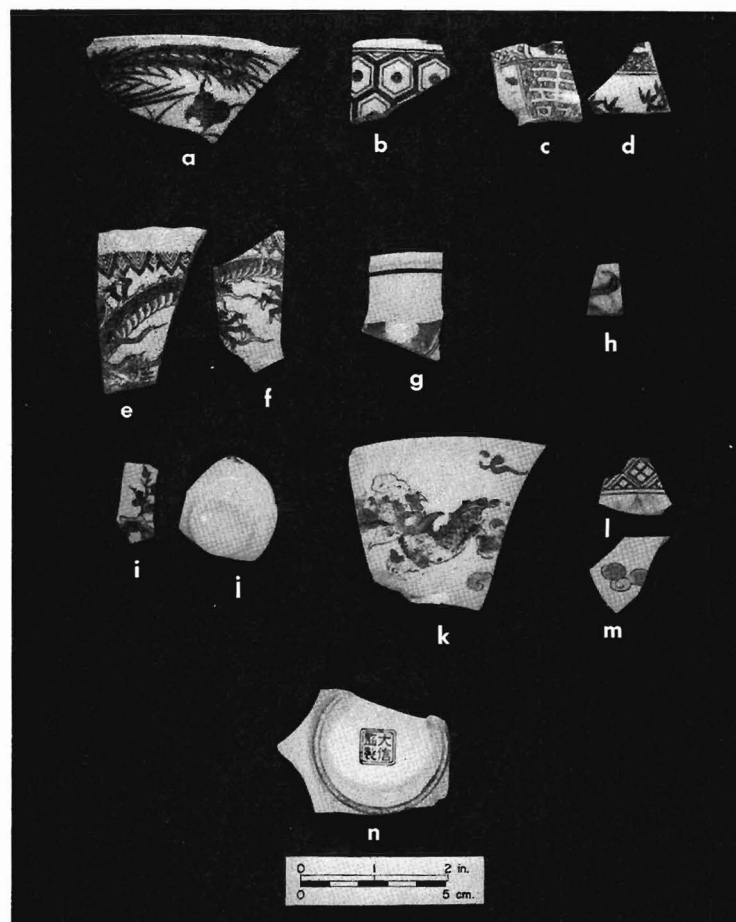


Plate II Chinese porcelain types.

*Decoration:* The entire exterior vessel surface is covered with an underglaze blue transfer-printed hexagonal diaper design containing a small radiating element located in the center of each hexagon. This design is terminated by a double line at the vessel shoulder.

*Form:* Molded vases or jars.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

#### Type 3 (Plate IIc, d)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear, slightly bluish, on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue panels containing the character *shou* on a background of cloud and thunder frets alternating with panels containing a bamboo floral design and other undetermined elements. One specimen contains a rim decoration consisting of a diagonal diaper interspersed with a daisy floral motif. These designs occur on the exterior surface of some vessels and on the interior of others. An illegible cartouche is present on the base of a bowl.

#### Type 4 (Plate IIe, f)

*Paste:* White to slightly greyish.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue dragon design with a row of dragon's teeth below the vessel rim. This design is similar to that found on the Chinese earthenware and stoneware (Types 2 and 1, respectively) and occurs on the exterior or interior of the vessels.

*Form:* Molded bowls and deep dishes with outflared rims. The rim of one dish contains impressed diagonal lines in groups of threes.

*Number of specimens:* 12.

#### Type 5 (Plate IIg)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* The exterior surface contains an underglaze transfer-printed bat and two parallel lines at the rim. A transfer-printed blue floral design is present on the interior surface above the shoulder. The bat (*fu*) is a symbol of happiness and represents the Five Blessings—longevity, wealth, serenity, virtue, and easy death (Savage 1954: 91).

*Form:* Molded deep dish with an outflared rim.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

#### Type 6 (Plate IIh)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Slightly bluish on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze freehand blue floral elements on interior and exterior surfaces. In the center of the base is a portion of an identifiable hallmark. The design pigments are slightly diffused in the glaze.

*Form:* Hand-thrown bowl with a high ring base.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

## Type 7 (Plate IIi, j)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* This is a residual category containing miscellaneous floral elements that are too fragmentary to identify as parts of larger designs. These underglaze transfer-printed blue elements occur on the interior, exterior, or both surfaces of the vessels.

*Form:* Small delicate cups and bowls or deep dishes with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 5.

## Type 8 (Plate IIk)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear, slightly greenish on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* The exterior of the vessel contains an underglaze dragon design transfer-printed in black and hand colored with yellow, pink, red, and green overglaze enamels. Several freehand background elements have been added in red enamel. The interior exhibits a black transfer-printed key design below the rim bordered on each side by a red enamel band. The key itself is filled in with green and yellow enamels. All the enamels are sloppily applied.

*Form:* Molded bowl approximately 18 cm (7.1 in) in diameter with a slightly out-flared rim.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

## Type 9 (Plate III, m)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* This type is a residual category for miscellaneous underglaze polychrome decorative elements that cannot be identified as part of a larger design. The elements include floral motifs, cloud and thunder frets, and a diagonal diaper with a gold rim band. All decoration consists of underglaze blue or black transfer-printed designs with overglaze enamels added and freehand enamel designs on the exterior of vessels. Colors include green, yellow, brown, and red.

*Form:* Molded bowls or cups.

*Number of specimens:* 5.

## Type 10 (Plate II n)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* An overglazed enamel gold band encircles the bases of these vessels at the juncture of the ring foot and the vessel wall. An identical transfer-printed makers' mark is present in the center of each base, indicating the relatively high quality of the wares. The mark imitates a reign title, but does not correspond to any of those on lists of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese reign title lists. The two lefthand characters may be read as "made under the supervision of. . . ." The characters on the right, "*Ta Hsin*," presumably are the name of the person or firm that manufactured these specimens (Hutterer, personal communication).

*Form:* Molded bowls with a high, slightly expanded ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 9.

*The Ceramics of Vietnam in the Colonial Period*

The historical development of Vietnamese ceramics has been treated briefly in the discussion of the ceramic model. When the French arrived in Indochina in the second half of the nineteenth century, they encountered an indigenous ceramic tradition with deep temporal roots, especially in the North. This tradition is best characterized by the "Annamese" wares produced from the thirteenth century at least through the seventeenth century and probably later (Honey 1945: 165; Moes 1975: 6). Heavily influenced by contemporary Chinese ceramic design, Annamese wares were manufactured in large quantities and exported to parts of Southeast Asia, the Philippines, and the islands of the East Indian Archipelago to the close of the Chinese Ming dynasty in 1644 and perhaps later (Garner 1954: 55). While Vietnamese ceramics continued to be manufactured up to and during the colonial period for a domestic market, these later wares have not been studied and remain largely ignored in the literature (Brown 1977: 23).

With the growing Western involvement in China after the sixteenth century, the Chinese ceramic industry became increasingly more susceptible to European influence, especially with regard to wares manufactured for the export trade. During this time, however, Vietnam remained largely isolated from Western influences. It is uncertain what innovations were made in Vietnamese ceramics, but the country's relative isolation is likely to have resulted in a more conservative development than in China. As a result, one might expect nineteenth- and twentieth-century Vietnamese ceramics to resemble the earlier Annamese wares or at least share a number of stylistic or technological attributes in common with them. It is not known to what extent the impact of French rule significantly affected the ceramic art of Vietnam, although it is certain that French economic interests were involved with some of the larger potteries. It seems likely that because they were made almost entirely for a domestic market, and apparently often manufactured at a local or regional level, Vietnamese ceramics would have been less subject to the demands of a diverse clientele than those of China and, therefore, were less likely to have been subject to a great deal of European-inspired stylistic innovation.

*Vietnamese Ceramics from the Plantation Site*

Two types of ceramics may be definitely identified as being of Vietnamese origin. They are recognizable as such chiefly because they are similar to earlier Annamese ceramics and may be assumed to represent a continuation of older stylistic traditions.

*Vietnamese stonewares*

## Type 1 (Plate IIIa, b)

*Paste:* Buff to grey with small inclusions.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces. Exhibits a semigloss or "creamy" texture.

*Decoration:* Curvilinear sgraffito design, apparently part of a floral motif on exterior of vessel. The decorative technique resembles that on the buff-colored Thanh Hoa stonewares manufactured in northern Annam after the twelfth century (Brown 1977: 12, Moes 1975: 6).

*Form:* Large jars thrown on the wheel. Throw marks are plainly visible on the interior surface.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

## Type 2 (Plate IIIc-f)

*Paste:* Buff with small inclusions.

*Glaze:* Greenish yellow celadon glaze on one or both surfaces. Exterior surfaces of bases and rims are not glazed.

*Decoration:* One specimen contains a portion of an incised, curvilinear design on its exterior. This decoration has been applied before the vessel was glazed. The other specimens are not decorated.

*Form:* Several forms of large jars are present. These include a vertical-walled vessel about 40 cm (12.3 in) in diameter and glazed on both surfaces, with a short outward-turned rim and flat lip; a globular vessel, glazed on both surfaces, with a stepped-in rim approximately 20 cm (7.9 in) in diameter, over which a lid was fitted; and a globular vessel, glazed on the exterior only, with a shoulder and a vertical rim about 13 cm (5.1 in) in diameter. A layer of cement has been applied over the lip of the last vessel, perhaps to seal its lid in place. One fragment of a lid is also present. Its outside diameter is the same as that of the vertical rimmed jar, and the approximately 10.5 cm (4.1 in) diameter of the lid's retaining ring would permit it to fit snugly inside the rim of this vessel. The slightly convex lid is glazed on the exterior only. One flat jar base is also present. It is glazed on its interior surface only and has an outside diameter of 21 cm (8.3 in). All of these vessels have been thrown on the wheel and most bear throw marks on their interior surfaces.

These celadon glazed jars are typical of those manufactured in Annam from the sixteenth century onward (Hutterer, personal communication).

*Number of specimens:* 16.

*Oriental Ceramics of Uncertain Origin*

A large group of the ceramics from the Plantation site do not correspond exactly to previously described ceramic categories attributed to particular countries of origin. They do, however, possess a number of attributes that attest to their manufacture in the Orient, most likely in Southeast Asia and China. It is probable that these ceramics have not been recognized because the period in which they were made has not been extensively studied with regard to material culture. Its ceramics, unlike those of earlier periods, have not attracted the interest of the collector. In the following discussion, an attempt will be made to describe these artifacts and note their similarities both to each other and to known groups of Oriental ceramics.

The ceramics from the Plantation site may be grouped roughly into two categories, each of which contains 19 types. The first of these is likely to represent ceramics of Vietnamese origin. As a group they stand out because of similarities in paste, slip, glaze, color of decorative pigments used and overall style of decoration, vessel form, and overall poor quality of manufacture. Stylistically, they are not Chinese; many of the types, however, exhibit decorative elements employed in earlier Annamese wares. Thus, if we group these ceramics on the basis of physical attributes, exclude their Chinese origin, and link them to past Vietnamese ceramics on the basis of shared stylistic elements, it becomes possible to assign them tentatively to the class of Vietnamese ceramics.

The second group is less homogeneous. It is composed of a number of types that contain physical attributes common to Chinese and Annamese ceramics or to Southeast Asian ceramics in general. For this reason, the exact national origin of the ceramics in this category must remain uncertain.



*Oriental Ceramics of Probable Vietnamese  
Origin from the Plantation Site*

*Earthenware-Stoneware*

Type 1 (Plate IVa)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue chrysanthemum design on the exterior surface of the vessel. On several specimens the design pigment has diffused slightly into the glaze.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 6.

Type 2 (Plate IVb)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* This consists of a band of underglaze transfer-printed blue paneled designs situated on the exterior of the vessel just below the rim and set off by two parallel hand-painted lines on either side. The main design consists of panels composed of a stylized chrysanthemum set off by triangles alternating with panels containing geometric forms. The pattern of alternating floral and geometric panels is similar to one found on Annamese ceramics exported from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries (Honey 1945: 165). The design pigment is slightly diffused in the glaze.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

Type 3 (Plate IVc)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze blue transfer-printed geometric design situated on the vessel exterior just below the rim. The design consists of a band containing semicircular concentric rings, dots, and triangles, set off by narrow solid bands. The design pigment is diffused into the glaze to produce a blurred decoration. The use of dots as a design element is characteristic of earlier Annamese ceramics.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls.

*Number of specimens:* 6.

Type 4 (Plate IVd, e)

*Paste:* Buff, covered with a creamy white slip on both surfaces.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze transfer-printed blue design on vessel exterior consisting of a band of closely spaced solid squares or diamonds set off by two parallel freehand lines on either side. On one specimen the design pigment has diffused into the glaze, producing a runny design.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl.

*Number of specimens:* 10.



Plate III Vietnamese stoneware types.

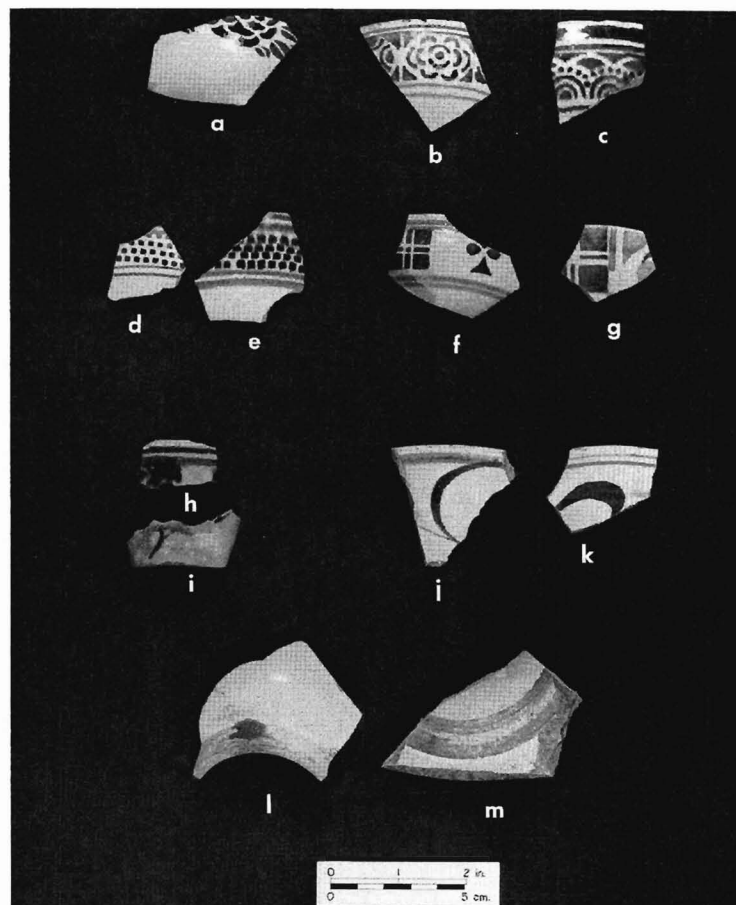


Plate IV Probable Vietnamese earthenware-stoneware types.

Type 5 (Plate IVf)

*Paste:* Buff to grey-buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* This consists of an underglaze blue freehand band situated on the exterior or interior of vessels just below the rim. The band contains transfer-printed blue solid squares subdivided into four smaller squares by two pairs of interesting parallel lines. The subdivided squares alternate with a four-petal floral element. One specimen exhibits pointed pendants in combination with the floral element. The pointed pendant is a common decorative element on Annamese ceramics after the fifteenth century (Honey 1945: 10). The decorated band is set off by one or two hand-painted lines. On one specimen the design element has diffused in the glaze.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls and deep dishes.

*Number of specimens:* 11.

Type 6 (Plate IVg)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Consists of underglaze blue transfer-printed quartered squares similar to those exhibited by the previous type alternating with reddish brown geometric elements. This design is located just below the rim on the interior or exterior of vessels.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls and deep dishes.

*Number of specimens:* 17.

Type 7 (Plate IVh, i)

*Paste:* Buff, with a creamy white slip on both surfaces, except base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze freehand blue design elements bordered by two parallel lines located just below the rim on the vessel's exterior surface. The pigment is quite diffused in the glaze and the designs are very indistinct. The overall appearance of these specimens is reminiscent of the "Annan Shibori-de" wares made in Bat Trang and other places in northern Annam and exported during and after the seventeenth century (Koyama and Figgess 1962: 349).

*Form:* Wheel-thrown cups with low ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 3.

Type 8 (Plate IVj, k)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* The specimens represent vessels decorated with underglaze freehand linear floral designs in blue as well as blue and red. The vessels usually have a narrow band at the rim and at the juncture of the wall and the ring foot. Both interior and exterior surfaces appear to be decorated.

*Form:* Deep dishes with a low ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 14.

Type 9 (Plate IVl, m)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip except for base of foot. The hardness varies from earthenware to soft stoneware.

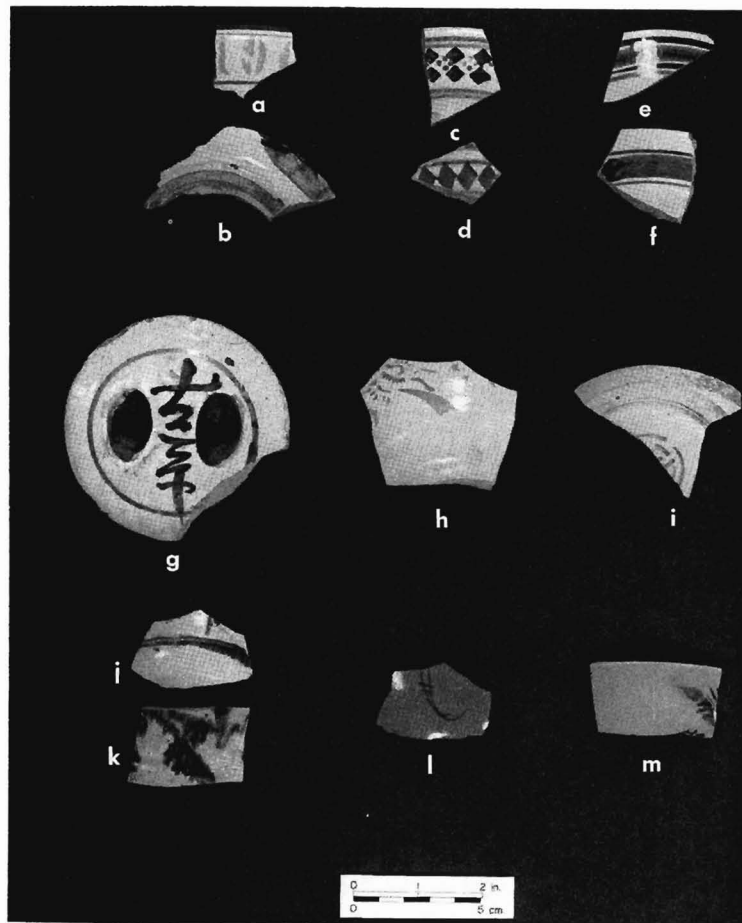


Plate V Probable Vietnamese earthenware-stoneware types.



Plate VI Probable Vietnamese earthenware-stoneware type.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except for base of foot.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with high ring foot, deep dishes, and one double vase or vessel with a wide expanded foot.

*Number of specimens:* 32.

#### Type 10 (Plate Va, b)

*Paste:* Buff, covered with a creamy white slip on both surfaces except for base of foot and a circular band surrounding the center of the vessel's interior.

*Glaze:* Clear, covering all slipped areas.

*Decoration:* Underglaze design elements occur in blue, green, and red. The last two colors have bubbled through the glaze upon firing and are raised slightly above the level of the surrounding glaze. Interior surface designs appear to be contained in bands bordered by single or paired freehand blue lines situated just below the rim. The bands exhibit stamped red and green geometric forms, green dots, and the green arabic numerals "190. . . ." The center of the vessel contains a blue transfer-printed design inside of the unglazed, unslipped ring. The nature of this design is unknown because only a small portion is visible on the specimen. Exterior surface designs appear to be freehand floral elements painted in blue, green, and dark red.

Several design elements are similar to those found on earlier Annamese ceramics, particularly the geometric designs (Honey 1945: 165, fig. 147a; Moes 1975: 6). The underglaze polychrome decoration employed on these specimens may have been an attempt to imitate earlier overglaze polychrome decorated wares. This type of ceramics was produced in Annam at least as late as the eighteenth century (Koyama and Figgess 1962:349, 353).

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with low ring foot. Both straight and outflared rims are present.

*Number of specimens:* 11.

#### Type 11 (Plate Vc, d)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on all surfaces.

*Decoration:* The underglaze design elements occur on both surfaces of the vessel between sets of hand-painted thin blue lines. They consist of dark green stamped diamonds arranged in rows interspersed with clusters of four stamped dots. One specimen contains a row of red diamonds. On another sherd, the green pigment has run, producing an amorphous design.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls and deep, shouldered dishes.

*Number of specimens:* 5.

#### Type 12 (Plate Ve, f)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white glaze except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear, slightly greenish on one specimen. Covers entire vessel except base of foot.

*Decoration:* Underglaze freehand bands consisting of a wide center line with one or more narrow lines on either side which are applied to the interior or exterior of vessels. On some specimens single narrow lines are also present. The main design is placed just

below the rim. The bands occur in blue, green, and combinations of blue and brown, green and brown, and blue and dark green.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with high ring base and deep dishes.

*Number of specimens:* 9.

#### Type 13 (Plate VI)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both sides with a creamy white slip except for base of foot and a circular band surrounding the vessel's interior center.

*Glaze:* Clear, covering all slipped areas.

*Decoration:* This consists of a single element, an underglaze blue freehand four-petal floral design in the center of the vessel's interior. Portions of the design overlap into the unglazed, unslipped band, indicating that the decoration was applied after the slip had been removed from this area.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

#### Type 14 (Plate Vg)

*Paste:* Buff, the exterior top surface is covered with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear, on exterior top surface only.

*Decoration:* The underglaze blue freehand design on the exterior surface includes a narrow band paralleling the rim and abbreviated Chinese characters in the center arranged in vertical order between the two finger holes. The inscription reads "*chi hsiang*," meaning auspicious blessing. This cursive decorative form of the inscription is not uncommon among earlier bronzes and coins and is known even in various forms of Shang and Chou pictographic inscriptions (Hutterer, personal communication). The application of the pigment is sloppy and a portion of the design is smudged.

*Form:* This is a lid for a small pot. Its lower surface is stepped in to fit within a vessel rim with an interior diameter of about 6.2 cm (2.4 in). The diameter of the lid itself is about 8.8 cm (3.5 in). The lid is of appliquéd construction, the base having been molded separately and then attached to a disk of clay that formed the convex top. Two oval finger holes about 2.8 x 1.6 cm (1.1 x 0.6 in) have been cut through the top with a hand tool, exposing the interior of the lid. The edges of these holes have been very poorly finished and no attempt to smooth them appears to have been made. The top surface of the lid has been finished although its underside has not and still bears impressions of the wooden surface on which it rested during construction.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

#### Type 15 (Plate Vh)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze green transfer-printed floral design on the exterior of the vessel.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

#### Type 16 (Plate Vi)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip except on base of foot and on a circular band surrounding the center of the vessel's interior.

*Glaze:* Clear, covering all slipped surfaces.

*Decoration:* On the interior surface inside the unglazed band is a portion of an underglaze brown transfer-printed Chinese character, probably *shou*.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 17 (Plate Vj, k)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, covered with a creamy white slip on both surfaces except base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear on all slipped surfaces.

*Decoration:* This is a residual group of specimens bearing portions of unidentified underglaze freehand blue designs.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with a high ring foot, deep dishes with a ring foot, and cups.

*Number of specimens:* 7.

Type 18 (Plate VI)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, with a creamy white slip covering both surfaces except base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on interior surfaces, blue on exterior surfaces. The base of the foot is unglazed.

*Decoration:* One sherd exhibits a small portion of an underglaze dark blue freehand linear design on the vessel's exterior surface. The design is unidentifiable.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 5.

Type 19 (Plate Vm)

*Paste:* Buff, covered on both surfaces with a creamy white slip except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear on interior surfaces, tan on exterior surfaces. The base of the foot is unglazed.

*Decoration:* A portion of an underglaze linear black freehand design is present on the exterior of one specimen. It is not identifiable.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with a high ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 3.

*Oriental Ceramics of Unknown Origin from the Plantation Site*

*Earthenwares*

Type 1 (Plate VIIa)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze blue transfer-printed lotus on interior surface.

*Form:* Molded plate or saucer with low ring foot.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 2 (Plate VIIb)

*Paste:* Buff, both surfaces covered with a white slip.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces. Brown band on exterior just below the rim.

*Decoration:* This consists of a freehand abstract sgraffito design that appears to be a

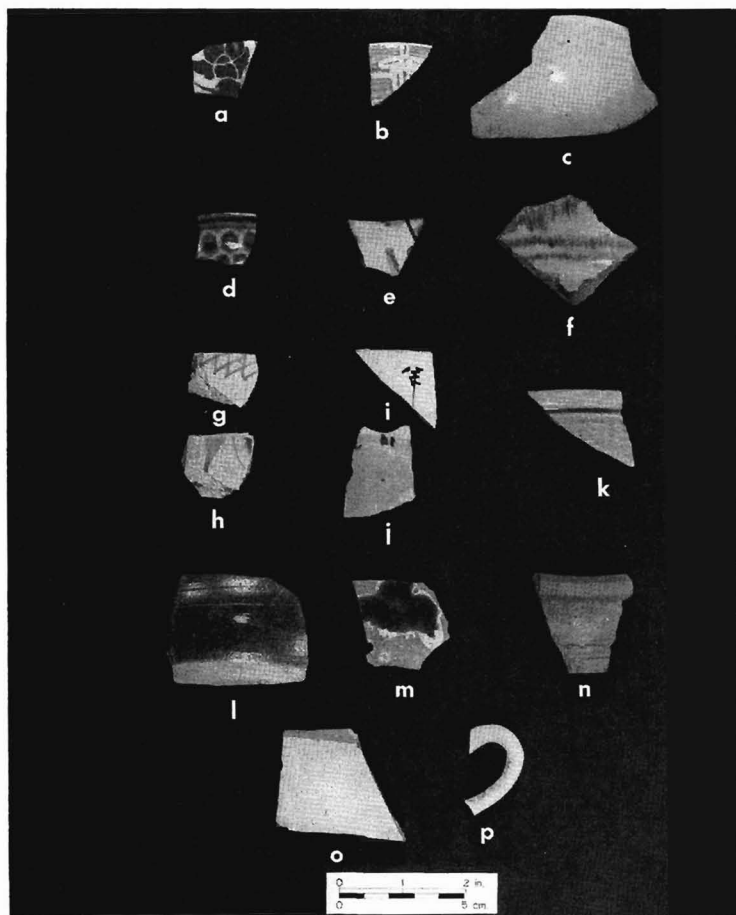


Plate VII Oriental ceramics of unknown origin, earthenware and stoneware types.

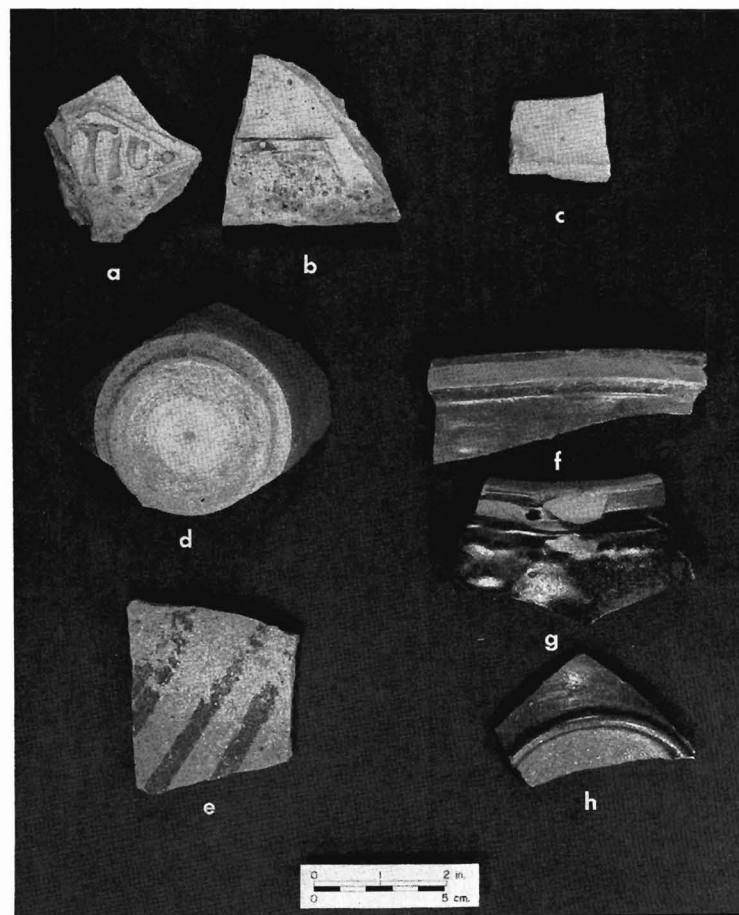


Plate VIII Oriental ceramics of unknown origin, earthenware and stoneware types.



rendering of the abbreviated *hsiang* sign (Hutterer, personal communication). It appears on the exterior of the vessel and has been formed by removing the brown glaze to expose the white slip underneath.

*Form:* Molded cup or bowl.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

#### Type 3 (Plate VIIIa-b)

*Paste:* Red, coarse, with inclusions.

*Glaze:* None.

*Decoration:* Impressed letters "... TIC" enclosed in a diamond appear on one specimen. Low raised crosshatching is present on several other sherds. These decorative elements seem to be on exterior surfaces.

*Form:* These are fragments of sections of a molded charcoal brazier or stove. The specimens represent flat surfaces and corners. Many exhibit inletting on their interior surfaces to facilitate the assembly of the brazier.

Solheim (1965: 257) states that the pottery stove is a distinct ceramic form in Southeast Asia, varying mainly in size. The stoves have two functioning levels, the lower of which contains a flat bottom in which the charcoal is placed. Toward one end or in the middle, the sides and ends are built up to form thick walls. Supports to hold the cooking pot above the level of the charcoal are situated near the top of these walls, constituting the second level of the stove. The base of the stove may be supported by an oblong or ring foot or by three or four legs.

*Number of specimens:* 8.

#### Type 4 (Plate VIIIc)

*Paste:* Red, coarse, contains inclusions.

*Glaze:* None.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* These appear to be fragments of curved roofing tile or pipe. They appear to have been molded.

*Number of specimens:* 3.

#### Stonewares

##### Type 1 (Plate VIIc)

*Paste:* Buff to grey, covered on both surfaces with a white slip except on base of foot.

*Glaze:* Clear to light blue or green, on all slipped areas.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowls with a high ring foot. One foot is slightly expanded.

*Number of specimens:* 7.

##### Type 2 (Plate VIId)

*Paste:* Grey, covered with a white slip on both surfaces.

*Glaze:* Clear to slightly bluish on the interior surface and darker blue on the exterior.

*Decoration:* The exterior exhibits two parallel underglaze freehand dark blue lines just below the rim. Below the lines a hexagonal diaper pattern covers the remainder of the surface of this specimen. This pattern is impressed on the surface of the vessel and the

resulting puddling of the glaze has produced differences in coloration in the form of the pattern.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl or cup.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 3 (Plate VIIe)

*Paste:* Buff, slipped white on the exterior surface only.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze freehand design elements in brown and black on exterior only. Larger designs are not recognizable because of the small size of the sherds.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl or cup.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

Type 4 (Plate VIIf)

*Paste:* Buff, slipped white on interior surface.

*Glaze:* Clear on interior surface, mottled brown and black on exterior surface.

*Decoration:* Two underglaze blue freehand lines and a portion of a blue design on interior surface. The pigments are extremely diffused in the glaze, producing a very runny design.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl or deep dish.

*Number of specimens:* 3.

Type 5 (Plate VIIg, h)

*Paste:* Buff.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze freehand design elements in blue, brown, and pink on one surface. The overall design cannot be determined.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown vessel of unknown type.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

Type 6 (Plate VIIi, j)

*Paste:* Buff, grey, slipped white on both surfaces.

*Glaze:* Clear to bluish on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Miscellaneous underglaze freehand elements too small to be separately classified are combined to form this residual category. The decorations appear on exterior surfaces only and are done in blue, dark red, green, or black. The black decoration appears to be a portion of the abbreviated *hsiang* sign.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown cups or bowls.

*Number of specimens:* 7.

Type 7 (Plate VIIk)

*Paste:* Buff, with white slip on interior surface.

*Glaze:* Yellow celadon glaze on exterior surface, clear glaze on interior, lip is unglazed.

*Decoration:* Interior surface has underglaze design elements composed of narrow blue lines and wider green lines. The nature of the design cannot be determined.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown pot or jar with expanded rim and flat lip.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 8 (Plate VIII*d*)

*Paste:* Buff.

*Glaze:* Brown on exterior of vessel only, glaze ends about 1.6 cm (0.6 in) above the base.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown pot or bowl with a low, slightly expanded foot.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 9 (Plate VII*l*)

*Paste:* Buff.

*Glaze:* Brown over entire interior of specimen and brown on the top portion of the exterior surface.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* Wheel-thrown bowl or other globular vessel.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

Type 10 (Plate VIII*f, h*)

*Paste:* Buff to grey.

*Glaze:* Brown, varying from reddish to dark brown, on exterior or interior surfaces or both. Rims on all specimens are unglazed.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* Four types of wheel-thrown jars appear to be present. The first is a straight-walled jar with an expanded rim and a flat lip. Its rim is stepped in on the inside to accept a lid. This vessel is glazed dark brown on its interior surface only.

The second type of jar is straight-walled with a slightly constructed neck. Rims are expanded inward and stepped in on the outside. The specimens exhibit both flat and rounded lips. Vessels are glazed on the exterior surface up to the rim and some are also glazed on the interior surface at the rim.

The third type of vessel appears to have been a smaller globular jar with a low ring foot. It is glazed reddish brown on both surfaces.

The final form of jar has vertical walls and an expanded rim and flat lip. One specimen is glazed on both surfaces and the other on the interior only.

Moes (1975: 5) has noted that brown glazed stoneware vessels, including jars as well as smaller pieces, were manufactured at provincial kilns in China for the Southeast Asian trade. Similar wares, based on Chinese prototypes, were also manufactured in Annam as early as the thirteenth century. These vessels were intended both for domestic use and for export. Similar ceramics are still produced in Vietnam.

Large brown glazed stoneware jars have served many purposes, one of the most common of which is as packing and transportation containers for food, liquids, and other products. Vessels originally used as shipping containers are often recycled to store and display bulk or repackaged goods (Solheim 1965: 255). In addition, these jars may serve as household storage vessels for salted vegetables and pickles (Yang 1945: 36) as well as containers for the fermentation of various products and the manufacturing and storage of alcoholic beverages (Solheim 1965: 256). Among primitive peoples of Southeast Asia, these containers have been highly valued as wealth items and are used on ritual occasions (Moes 1975: 5).

*Number of specimens:* 12.

## Type 11 (Plate VIIm)

*Paste:* Buff.

*Glaze:* Deep green, applied unevenly over what appears to be the upper surface. Lower surface is unglazed.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* This specimen exhibits a slightly convex shape and may represent a lid. At the highest point on its surface is a bored hole which may have facilitated the attachment of a handle. The specimen has been wheel-thrown.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

## Type 12 (Plate VIIIe)

*Paste:* Red, buff marbled, with large sand inclusions. Surface is rough with particles of sand adhering to several specimens.

*Glaze:* Dark brown, appears to be dripped and trailed over the exterior surface of the vessel. The interior surface is unglazed.

*Decoration:* None except that formed by glaze.

*Form:* Large vertical-walled jars that have been thrown on the wheel.

*Number of specimens:* 5.

## Type 13 (Plate VIIIn)

*Paste:* Grey, with large sand inclusions. Surface is rough with sand grains protruding.

*Glaze:* None.

*Decoration:* Shallow incised lines made with a rounded tool running parallel to and just below the rim of the vessel on its exterior surface.

*Form:* Large wheel-thrown jar with a widened, slightly outflared rim and a rounded lip.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

## Type 14 (Plate VIIIo)

*Paste:* Light grey, compact.

*Glaze:* White, on one of the large faces of the specimen.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* The specimen appears to be a fragment of a molded glazed tile. Its upper surface is smoothed and glazed and its sides and bottom are unglazed and rough. Traces of mortar are present along its sides, indicating that it was once used as a structural artifact. The glazed surface also exhibits wear marks, suggesting that the tile may have formed part of a floor.

*Number of specimens:* 1.

## Type 15 (Plate VIIp)

*Paste:* Buff, white.

*Glaze:* None.

*Decoration:* None.

*Form:* This is a residual category comprising miscellaneous unglazed ceramic fragments. The specimens consist of a molded cup handle and the rim of a wheel-thrown lid.

*Number of specimens:* 2.

*French Ceramics of the Colonial Period*

By the second half of the nineteenth century, France, like the other nations of northern Europe, had undergone a revolution in the manufacture of ceramics and was producing basically modern wares. Following the British lead in the 1760s, French potters had almost completely abandoned the manufacture of faience in favor of cream-colored and white earthenwares by the early years of the nineteenth century. Faience survived only as a minor ware manufactured for local or specialty markets (Hagggar 1960: 119, 165; Savage 1959: 155; Giacomotti 1968: 192). The production of stonewares in France also followed the British lead in the eighteenth century. Unglazed red stoneware, black *basaltes*, and white salt-glazed wares were turned out on a moderate scale (Hagggar 1960: 197; Towner 1968: 280). Stonewares continued to be manufactured in France during the nineteenth century and later for both domestic and architectural purposes, but the extent of their production appears to have been much less than that for either earthenwares or porcelains (Wakefield 1968: 285; Franchet 1910: 646).

The manufacture of porcelain in France developed independently from that in other parts of Europe. The first soft-paste porcelains were produced as early as the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Following the discovery of native deposits of kaolin, the manufacture of hard-paste porcelain began at Sèvres and quickly spread to other centers (Hagggar 1960: 197–198). Sèvres and Limoges were to become the major producers of French porcelain in the nineteenth century.

Under royal sponsorship and later under the protection of the Republic, Sèvres expanded as the result of its access to improved materials and techniques of production. Sèvres produced mostly utilitarian wares during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries following contemporary styles (Savage 1954: 192–194).

Porcelain manufacture began at Limoges in 1771 but did not receive its greatest impetus until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when David Haviland, an American importer, initiated the production of Limoges porcelain for an export market (Hagggar 1960: 221; Wood 1951: 8). The Haviland companies, together with that of the Alluad family, were the largest producers at Limoges and manufactured porcelains there throughout the colonial period in Indochina. By the beginning of the twentieth century, their products were being manufactured both for foreign and domestic sales. In addition to these companies, at least 13 other factories at Limoges were producing ceramics for foreign and domestic markets in the early twentieth century (Wood 1951: 24–25, 34).

*French Ceramics from the Plantation Site*

European ceramics comprise the smallest category of artifacts from the Plantation site. The 28 specimens may be divided up into one type of stoneware and five types of porcelain on the basis of their physical characteristics. They are typical of French wares of this period and, as such, are distinct from the Oriental ceramics recovered from this site.

*French earthenwares*

## Type 1 (Plate IXa–c)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces. The glaze exhibits the widely spaced cracks characteristic of European ironstone and whiteware.

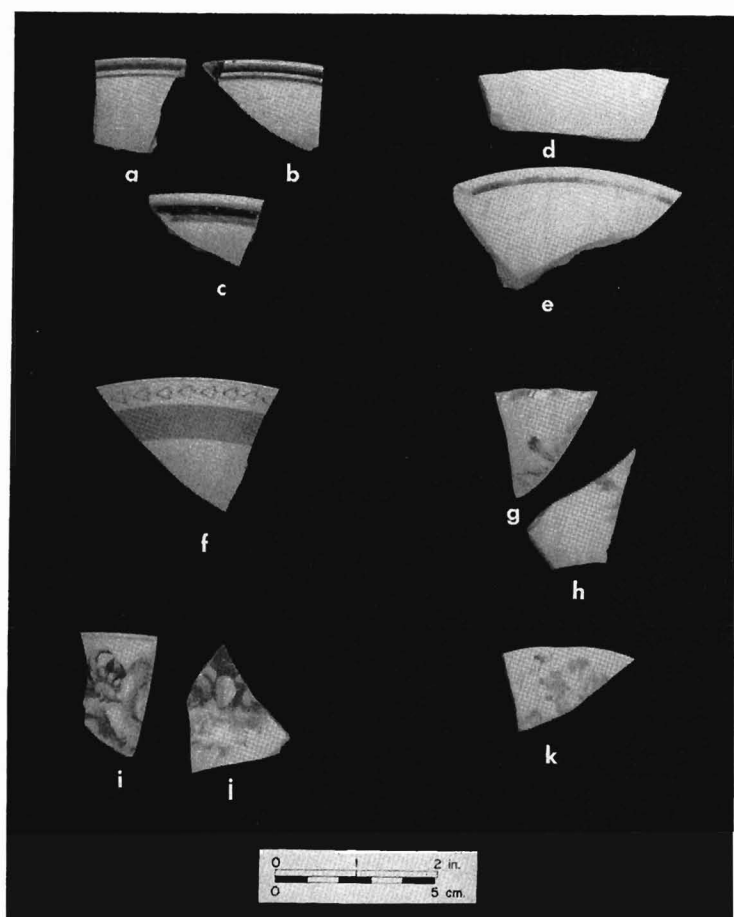


Plate IX French earthenware and porcelain types.

*Decoration:* Underglaze freehand bands on the interior surface of the vessels at the rim in maroon or blue. One specimen has a transfer-printed blue crosshatched design covering the entire rim. One rim and all those sherds representing the center portions of plates are undecorated. One specimen representing the side of a bowl exhibits a freehand blue design of an unknown type on its exterior surface.

*Form:* Molded plates with a low foot rim and molded bowls. These specimens differ markedly from the Oriental earthenwares and stonewares in form and composition. They represent European vessel types that are not duplicated elsewhere in this collection and, unlike the Oriental wares, possess a white body and do not use a slip.

*Number of specimens:* 8.

#### *French porcelains*

##### *Type 1 (Plate IXd, e)*

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* The specimens are machine decorated with a single overglaze painted gold band on the interior surface just inside the rim. Two of the specimens also exhibit a shallow molded diagonal scalloped design at the rim.

*Form:* Molded saucers about 15 cm (5.9 in) in diameter with a low ring foot.

The specimens exhibit a shape similar to that of European saucers in use during the colonial period in Indochina. The even modeling and smoothed edges conform to those of the plain styles that characterized French dinnerwares introduced in the early twentieth century, and light scalloping similar to that present on the specimens occurred on Limoges porcelain at least through the 1920s. The gold rim band as a sole decorative element was also typical of Limoges porcelain of this period (Wood 1951: 101). The size of these vessels corresponds to that of porcelain saucers manufactured at Limoges for export in the early twentieth century (Sears, Roebuck 1969: 797; 1971: 358).

*Number of specimens:* 7.

#### Type 2 (Plate IXf)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* The decoration is confined to the rim of the vessel. It consists of a narrow overglaze gold band near the rim inside of which are a row of gold shieldlike devices and a wide underglaze orange band.

*Form:* Molded plate about 21 cm (8.3 in) in diameter.

Plates with design motif consisting of colored bands with gold trim are typical of those produced at Limoges after the late nineteenth century (Wood 1951: 101). Its size conforms to that of plates exported by several Limoges firms in the early twentieth century (Sears, Roebuck 1969: 797)

*Number of specimens:* 2.

#### Type 3 (Plate IXg, h)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces except on base of foot.

*Decoration:* Overglaze freehand gold band at the rim with hand-painted polychrome uncluttered floral designs below the rim and in the center of the vessel. Pink and green colors predominate in this design. The rim exhibits shallow, molded, diagonal scalloped design.

*Form:* Molded small plates or saucers about 15 cm (5.9 in) in diameter with slightly out-turned rims.

The decorative pattern found on these specimens is typical of the "floral center and rim" designs produced by Limoges firms in the early twentieth century and the design is similar to several of those used by C. F. Haviland, G.D.A. and Theodore Haviland & Co. (Wood 1951: 91, 93, 101).

*Number of specimens:* 5.

#### Type 4 (Plate IXi, j)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Cluttered underglaze transfer-printed polychrome floral design on the inte-

rior surface of plates and the exterior surface of cups. Pink is the predominant color in the design. The cups exhibit a gold band at the rim.

*Form:* Molded plates and cups. The plates have a slightly scalloped rim with an angular lip. One plate rim is battered along its edge, suggesting heavy use prior to breakage.

Overall spray patterns were employed extensively on Limoges porcelain in the early twentieth century, and this particular design is similar to one used by C. F. Haviland, G.D.A. (Wood 1951: 98, 101).

*Number of specimens:* 5.

#### Type 5 (Plate IXk)

*Paste:* White.

*Glaze:* Clear on both surfaces.

*Decoration:* Underglaze polychrome floral transfer-printed decoration on interior surface just below the rim and in the center of the vessels. Blues predominate in this design.

*Form:* Molded plate with slightly scalloped rim.

The overall spray pattern is common on Limoges porcelain in the early twentieth century and designs similar to that on the specimen were produced by Haviland & Co., Theodore Haviland & Co., C. F. Haviland, G.D.A., and other Limoges companies (Wood 1951: 84, 85, 88, 94, 95, 98, 100).

*Number of specimens:* 1.

### *Discussion*

An examination of the ceramic artifacts from the Plantation site reveals the presence of French, Chinese, and Vietnamese materials. The collection contains a wide variety of ceramics that may be identified as Vietnamese or probably Vietnamese. Several types are traditional Vietnamese wares and may date from the seventeenth century, perhaps as heirloom pieces. The preponderance of the material, however, appears to be modern. Although some decorative elements are reminiscent of earlier Annamese wares, their overall designs and the use of transfer-printed and stamped decoration seem to be more recent developments. Some stylistic innovation may reflect a selective copying of European design elements during the colonial period. Certain Vietnamese wares may even have been intended for a European colonial market. All of the specimens, however, appear to represent traditional Asian forms and are likely to have been manufactured for Vietnamese use.

The Chinese wares seem to be predominantly industrial products, made in molds and mechanically decorated. Many of the specimens are well made and several bear maker's marks, indicating a quality ware that would very likely reflect a high status for its owner. Like the Vietnamese ceramics, these reflect Asian forms.

French ceramics comprise only a small portion of the ceramic total. The porcelains represent high-quality wares typical of those manufactured at centers such as Limoges in the early twentieth century. The specimens indicate European forms and are likely to have been imported for the use of French colonists or acculturated Vietnamese who were able to afford them.

The archaeological data suggest that the Plantation site represents a plantation managerial complex that existed there during the period of French rule. This conclusion must not be considered inalterable, however, because it is based upon the analysis of only



a portion of the original archaeological output that a settlement of this nature is likely to have produced and because comparable archaeological data from contemporary settlements are unavailable for study. The material remains of the Plantation site consist entirely of ceramics. In general, this class of artifact does not occur alone in the archaeological record because it was neither used by itself nor is it likely to have been discarded separately from other objects disposed of by a household or a community. In situations where ceramics are found alone in archaeological context, they are usually associated with a specialized activity that would entail the deposition of this class of artifact apart from others. Often such deposition is related to the social and economic value or the ritual significance of the ceramics, as is the case with hordes and caches (see, e.g., Pope 1956; Brain 1970; Matthews 1962: 239). Ceramics associated with such activities usually do not include the range of easily accessible and relatively cheap utilitarian wares that comprise a large part of the collection from the Plantation site. Such a variety would most likely have been associated with a domestic activity artifact set. For a discussion of documented archaeological ceramics in terms of their functional contexts, see South (1977: 230-235), Deetz (1973), and Otto (1977). Further information relating to discard as a process in the formation of the archaeological record may be found in Schiffer (1972: 161-163; 1977: 19-21).

Prior to its destruction, the Plantation site is likely to have contained structures and other stationary architectural features that, together with discarded portable objects, reflected the spatial distribution of activities associated with the past settlement. A knowledge of such activities would permit settlement function to be inferred much more accurately. A comparative study of the form and content of documented colonial period Vietnamese settlements might result in a typology of settlement types based upon their archaeological characteristics. Such a typology would allow the recognition of poorly documented settlements, such as that represented by the Plantation site, on the basis of material remains alone.

Although the general conclusion regarding settlement function is not likely to be negated by an analysis of its undisturbed archaeological remains, it is certain that such an analysis would permit a more precise identification of the activities that were carried out there and, consequently, a clearer definition of past function. Based upon the limited evidence offered by the ceramic materials, however, it has been possible to suggest strongly a functional identity for a historic site in a geographical area and period that have not previously been dealt with in the archaeological literature.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Archaeological and documentary information relating to the Plantation site, representing the remains of a colonial period settlement in Bien Hoa Province, Vietnam, have been useful both in inferring the nature of the past settlement and in introducing a body of ceramic materials heretofore largely ignored.

Documentary sources offer the most reliable means of ascertaining the chronological position of the site's occupation. Although the settlement is not indicated as a discrete entity on maps, its association with rubber plantations on lands opened for cultivation around the time of World War I implies that the site was occupied after this time, probably as part of a larger dispersed plantation settlement. The precise *terminus ante quem* date for the site's occupation is also uncertain; however, it would have to have occurred

prior to the construction of American military bases in the area in 1967. The archaeological evidence is less helpful in dating because the temporal ranges of most of the ceramics described are uncertain. The presence of industrially produced Chinese ceramics and French ceramics that date from the first quarter of the twentieth century suggest that the site's occupation took place during the period suggested by the documentary evidence, and possibly earlier.

The site's association with plantation activities of the colonial period suggests that it represents the remains of a plantation settlement. Comparative evidence has indicated that plantations generally contained two types of settlements, those occupied by the manager and those by the workers. Ceramic use in colonial Vietnam appears to have varied between the European or acculturated Vietnamese managers and their Vietnamese workers. While the former might be expected to have used imported French or European ceramics together with some Chinese and Vietnamese wares, it is not likely that the workers would have used any but Vietnamese and perhaps some Chinese ceramics. This differential use is likely to be reflected in the archaeological record that accumulated as a result of discard by these two groups in separate locations. The presence of French ceramics together with high-quality Chinese wares at the Plantation site suggests that it was associated with a manager's activity area.

Unfortunately the disturbed condition of the site and the absence of architectural features has greatly limited the scope of the archaeological data available for investigating the nature of the past settlement here. Only with the examination of adequate archaeological collections from less disturbed sites of comparable plantation settlements will it be possible to confirm or deny the conclusions regarding the function of the Plantation site's occupation.

The ceramic collection itself is composed of a variety of types representing the pottery produced by at least three countries, France, China, and Vietnam. For the most part, the ceramics of the first two have been described in the literature; Vietnamese ceramics of the colonial period, however, have not previously been reported. For this reason, it has been necessary to compare the non-French and non-Chinese wares in the collection with the ceramics of other Asian countries and with those wares known to have been manufactured in Vietnam prior to the colonial period in order to ascertain their cultural affiliation. The results of this comparison reveal a number of types that bear strong resemblance to the various Annamese wares of Vietnam and some others that must remain classified as Oriental ceramics of uncertain provenience. The inferior technical and stylistic quality of the latter suggest that they are locally produced wares, and their presence at the Plantation site implies Vietnamese manufacture. Only a comparison of these specimens with ceramics in ethnographic collections or from known colonial-period archaeological contexts, however, will enable us to substantiate this assumption.

The variety of Vietnamese ceramics from the plantation site bears testimony to the continued existence of a ceramic industry in Vietnam during the colonial period, one that maintained a continuity with earlier pottery manufacturing traditions while undergoing some stylistic and technological innovation. These ceramics represent Asian vessel forms entirely, with apparently no attempt made to duplicate those of European wares. The failure of the Vietnamese ceramic industry to extensively copy French pottery may reflect the absence of a market for the latter among the native population, a condition occasioned by the differential use of European and Oriental ceramics by different social groups in the plural colonial society.

While the sample of ceramics from the Plantation site almost certainly does not contain the entire range of ceramics used in Vietnam during the colonial period, and the identification of the site's nature itself is somewhat tentative, the information gained from the study of the Plantation site and its contents is significant for several reasons. First, it constitutes an initial study of a group of ceramic artifacts that has not been described before. This material represents an important phase in the development of both Vietnamese and Chinese ceramics, a period during which both nations were experiencing the maximum impact of Western culture and were undergoing extensive disruption and acculturation as a result of this contact. The comparative study of colonial-period Vietnamese ceramics with those made prior to the French conquest might provide valuable insights into the effects of colonization on the indigenous ceramic industry.

Second, in using archaeological methods and techniques to deal with the remains of colonial Vietnamese society, it is possible to demonstrate the utility of extending the field of archaeology into the study of the recent past. The ability of archaeology to reveal patterns of material culture not accessible through documentary or other sources offers an opportunity to investigate aspects of human behavior otherwise lost. Given the rapid rate of change and dislocation that has taken place and is now occurring in former colonial areas, it may be necessary to look increasingly toward the archaeological record as a major source of information regarding many aspects of colonial development.

This paper has developed a tentative classification for Vietnamese ceramics of the colonial period. Additionally, it has attempted to identify the nature of a past Vietnamese settlement through an analysis of its archaeological remains. It is obvious that limitations in the data base have placed constraints upon the certainty of the interpretations made and that comparative information obtained from future research will be necessary to either substantiate or refute the conclusions. Given the unlikelihood that such work will be conducted in the foreseeable future, the conclusions of this report are obliged to remain as untested hypotheses regarding both the nature of the Plantation site and the diversity of ceramics used in colonial Vietnam.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century ceramics of both Europe and the Orient have not been organized into types according to a systematic scheme of classification. Instead, they have generally been combined into groups based on their place of manufacture or distribution or on the common occurrence of one or more physical attributes. Such ceramic groups are, consequently, often neither comparable nor even mutually exclusive.

<sup>2</sup> This term follows British usage regarding the overall composition of the ceramics in the accompanying group. In the Far Eastern ceramic literature, these ceramics have also been referred to as "soft-bodied" wares or wares with a "low-fired body."

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