

A Lost Kingdom in the Philippine Archipelago:
The Kalaga-P'utuan Crescent, 250-1550 AD



Reconstructing Philippine Pre-History Using Ceramics

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the Philippines traditionally begins with the chronicles of Pigafetta that document the arrival of Magellan's expedition at the island of Homonhon in 1521. Although Philippine society was literate at the time of first contact with the Spaniards, indigenous written documents were systematically destroyed during the subsequent Christianization of the archipelago. In the single-minded focus to establish a Catholic society, these were regarded as heretical and dangerous. In addition, documents or records that might have survived were undoubtedly written on highly-perishable material; moreover, no stone monuments exist with inscriptions that can be decoded. Thus, there are few written vestiges of early Philippine society and culture that can be used to establish a coherent narrative of Philippine pre-history.

In fact, a similar colonial policy of cultural suppression to instill devotion to the church extended to all regions of the Spanish Colonial Empire but, in at least several cases, the existence of imposing stone monuments provided evidence of a vanished culture. Over the years, archeologists and linguists have decoded the inscriptions on monuments in the Yucatan to reconstruct the pre-Hispanic Mayan culture. Were there similar long-lived cultures that existed in the Philippine Archipelago before the Spanish conquest? So far, we have no coherent narrative for a continuous culture in the Philippines that is comparable to our understanding of Mayan culture in Mexico or of Inca culture in Peru. Without written records or monumental inscriptions, all we have are small "snapshots", either from the dedicated work of archeologists at individual sites, or from rare chance discoveries of artifacts from the vanished cultures.

If such "lost kingdoms" existed, an essential first step is to assemble and evaluate the scattered scraps of evidence that currently exist. This booklet represents an attempt to

organize currently available information that can serve as an initial hypothesis and a coherent framework that future research and discoveries can use, extend or modify.

Specifically, this booklet will bring together the diverse evidence for at least one such society in the Philippine Archipelago that probably existed for over a millennium. The evidence, though fragmentary and highly incomplete, has become increasingly compelling. In this booklet, the evidence presently available for this highly-speculative reconstruction will be integrated into a framework that not only assembles the available data, but in addition, can be used to test whether future multi-disciplinary investigations of all types support or modify the speculative historical narrative proposed.

In the course of organizing this historical framework, a striking parallel became apparent. In reconstructing geological chronologies of the distant past, the fossil record has proved to be an invaluable tool. Because index fossils can be reliably dated, they provide critical chronological guideposts. For example, the fossil record has allowed us to understand the mass extinction of dinosaurs and other species that occurred during the cretaceous/tertiary boundary. Similarly, a precise dating of the separation of South American and Antarctica and of the establishment of a land bridge between South and North America was dependent on careful analysis of the fossil data. In the case of Philippine pre-history, there is analogous evidence — the Chinese ceramics buried at different times by various groups within the Philippine Archipelago as part of their funerary customs. In attempting to reconstruct Philippine pre-history, we suggest, and try to demonstrate, that the presence of datable Chinese ceramics can serve a similar role to index fossils in a chronological and geographic definition of a prehistoric Philippine culture.

THE KALAGA-P'UTUAN CRESCENT (KPC)

Over the last 50 years, a growing body of evidence has accumulated that an important pre-colonial society that carried out extensive maritime trade existed in Northeastern Mindanao in the Southern Philippines. The most specific and concrete evidence is found in the official records of the Imperial Court of the Song Dynasty (Song Shih), which described trade missions from “a small country in the sea called P’utuan”. The chronicles record the arrival of the first mission from P’utuan at the Celestial Court of the third Northern Song Emperor on March 17th, 1001, and of frequent

trade missions in the next few years. Tributary missions from Arabs, Somalians, Syrians, Tibetans, Uighurs and others are also described. P’utuan is characterized in the chronicles as “having regular communication with Champa and sporadic contacts with China”.

Ten years later, according to the Song court records, the ruler of P’utuan, named Sri Bata Shaja, sent an envoy named Likan-Hsieh to the Imperial Court with offerings that included a gold tablet and various native products, as well as cloves from the Moluccas. The Song Emperor responded to the offering by honoring Likan-Hsieh with

Figure 1

KPC “Privileged Sites” for Chinese ceramics. The circles show sites where ceramics have been recovered that are distinct from standard “maritime silk road” exportware. Triangles show sites of significant archaeological recoveries. The geography of these sites contradicts the conventional view of prehistoric Philippine maritime centers on the western littoral zone of the Philippine archipelago.



a military title, “The Cherished Transformed General”, and a Chinese memorial with flags, pennons and armor exalting the distant land of P’utuan. Thus P’u-tuan received formal recognition that direct trade with China was sanctioned by the Northern Song Court.

The consensus in the literature is that P’utuan refers to Butuan in Northern Mindanao (Fig. 1). These historical documents are the best and most detailed description of an otherwise poorly-defined pre-colonial Philippine society.

Butuan is a specific, existing administrative entity (the present-day Butuan City); we shall use the term P’utuan, adapted from the Song Chronicles, to refer to the political and cultural entity described in the Chinese documents. The record of Pigafetta in the 16th century however, uses Butuan to refer to a much larger geographic area; as Magellan’s expedition proceed from the northeastern tip of Mindanao to the most southern point, Pigafetta consistently called it the “Island of Caraga and Butuan”.

We will attempt to construct a historical narrative for this society based on Chinese ceramics found in a variety of sites in Northern Mindanao and the Eastern Visayas that date from the 3rd-14th century (see Figure 1). We propose as a working hypothesis that there was a flourishing culture that encompassed a loose political confederation engaged in maritime trade. We will refer to the cultural sphere of this maritime confederation as the “Kalaga-P’utuan Crescent” (KPC) for reasons that we will detail after the evidence for its existence has been presented. KPC was probably at the height of commercial success, cultural development and political influence during the 9th-12th centuries. The published literature already provides firm evidence for trade with China starting in the 10th century. What will be attempted here is to show that this Austronesian maritime kingdom likely existed seven centuries earlier than the widely-accepted dates; we hypothesize that it was a prehistoric “lost kingdom” in the Southern Philippines that lasted at least 13 centuries.

Most of the present-day Philippine population speak one of a group of related languages known as Austronesian, a term that includes a common cultural cluster encompassing most Indonesian Islands, Malaysia, Polynesia and Madagascar (in the older literature, this is usually called Malayo-Polynesian). The Song Dynasty Chinese chronicles referred to links between P’utuan and a kingdom called Champa, located in what is now Central Vietnam, which traded with China for many centuries. Like P’utuan, Champa was an Austronesian society that carried out extensive maritime trade across Southeast Asia.

Overview of the Evidence for a Maritime Culture

The most spectacular and compelling evidence for the existence of a vibrant cultural entity in Northern Mindanao is the Surigao Treasure — a large cache of sophisticated gold objects found buried at a single site in Surigao, a collection that far exceeded any expectations of ancient gold objects that one might find in the Philippines. Fortunately, thanks to Cecilia and Leandro Locsin, and Jaime C. Laya, much of the Surigao gold, as well as other objects from Philippine sites, has been preserved in two important collections, the Locsin Collection, most of which has been exhibited at the Ayala Museum, and the Gold Collection of the Central Bank of the Philippines that was assembled when Jaime Laya was Governor. The astonishing objects in these collections have attracted international attention, and serve as eloquent testimony to the sophistication of the cultures that produced them. Unfortunately, most gold objects cannot be authoritatively dated; thus, any inferences of their historical origins can only arise from cultural representations inherent in the objects themselves.

The first evidence suggesting that an unsuspected culture existed in Northern Mindanao was the discovery of Chinese ceramics from the 10th century around the

city of Butuan (in Agusan province) about 50 years ago by pot hunters. Collectors of Chinese ceramics in Manila created a thriving market for the Agusan Chinese ceramic recoveries, further intensifying pot-hunting activities in the area. The pot-hunters discovered other artifacts, most notably large wooden boats (Balangays) on the banks of the Masao river near Butuan City. These were ocean-going vessels capable of carrying heavy cargo across long distances. Dating of both the ceramics and the wooden boats provided initial evidence for a 10th century cultural and political entity at the site; dating of one of the Balangays suggests that the site had been occupied many centuries earlier.

The ceramic recoveries at Northern Mindanao sites can be defined not only with respect to the kiln of manufacture, but importantly, the date to within a few decades. As

we will illustrate, these sites have yielded a trove of the highest-quality Chinese ceramics which, like fossils, can be used as chronological signposts. As archeological work at ancient kiln sites in China proceeds further, dating of these and future ceramic discoveries will become more precise. These vessels thus provide concrete evidence that will allow us to construct an increasingly accurate localized chronology for specific areas within the sphere of cultural influence of the KPC maritime entrepot.

All of the archaeological evidence, and the sites of recoveries of ceramics dated before the 10th century are located in a crescent-shaped geographic area of the Philippines, the center of which is the Caraga region (known as Kalaga in pre-history). For this reason, we refer to the proposed “Lost Kingdom” as the “Kalaga-Putuan Crescent” (KPC).

DISTINCTIVE CHINESE CERAMICS FROM SPECIAL PHILIPPINE SITES

Chinese Ceramics Recovered from the Philippines: an Overview

In the early 20th century, the presence of Chinese ceramics throughout the Philippines was documented primarily through the work of the American archaeologist, Otley Beyer. These discoveries were not systematically recorded in detail for any specific site until the work carried out by Robert Fox at Calatagan, in West-Central Luzon, and by Cecilia and Leandro Locsin, at Santa Ana, Manila. The published description of their excavations at these sites include a broad range of ceramics from China, Thailand and Vietnam. Such ceramics were later found all over the Philippines, dating mostly from the 13th (Southern Song period) to the 16th century (early Ming). Until the mid- 70s, most recoveries of Chinese ceramics from the Philippines were from these dynastic periods. The antique shops in Manila were filled with porcelain and stoneware; Chinese ceramics

from the Yuan Dynasty were particularly notable since the porcelain found in the Philippines provided many individual examples of the earliest transition to under- glaze blue and white painting on porcelain that changed Chinese art early in the 14th century.

It was not until the discoveries in Agusan, in Northern Mindanao around the city of Butuan, that an entirely different spectrum of Chinese ceramics emerged in quantity. Generally, in contrast to most ceramics found in the western littoral area of Luzon and the Visayan Islands, ceramic recoveries from Northern Mindanao around the Bohol Sea, to the Eastern Visayas (Southern Leyte and Eastern Samar), have regularly included many vessels that appear to have been made before the Southern Song Dynasty. What we show here is the discovery of Chinese ceramics from even earlier, in the Six Dynasties period of China, between the Han and the Sui Dynasties (3rd-6th century).

Using Chinese Celadons as Chronological Guideposts

Ceramics from Northern Mindanao provide concrete evidence that chiefdoms located there were active in maritime trade as early as the third century. Some specific examples are shown in Figures 2-4. It is probably a simplification to describe the type of Chinese ceramics that will be the focus of this study as celadons — these are vessels fired with a greenish-ash glaze that became increasingly sophisticated, reaching their artistic peak in the Song Dynasty of China, when ceramics of this type were developed specifically for Imperial Court use. The ceramics recovered in Northern Mindanao/Eastern Visayas sites provide a continuous record of imported celadons from the 3rd century on (see Figure 2), and while not all of the celadons found can be precisely dated, there are recurring themes that emerge, evidence for strong cultural preferences that persisted over a long period of time.

In discussing the Chinese ceramics brought to this region of the Philippines, we use the framework outlined by Sato (based on Japanese scholarship) and by Medley and Watson (providing a British viewpoint). Our initial focus is on Chinese stoneware ceramics made between

the Han and the Sui Dynasties (3rd to 7th century). There is ambiguity in naming both the period, and the ceramics. The terminology used by Sato refers to this period as the “Six Dynasties” (some other authors refer to this as the “Period of Division”). This was a time of innovation when stoneware became widely disseminated throughout China. The stoneware being made was of the celadon type, with an ash glaze; Sato and other Japanese experts refer to this as “Old Yüeh”. We adopt the latter terminology for all of the celadons made in Zhejiang province in the Six Dynasties (Medley and Watson refer to these as proto-Yüeh, the more common term in the Western literature).

Sato suggests that the Six Dynasties period marks the beginning of Chinese ceramics as an independent art form. He points out that prior to this period, objects made of clay were an alternative to more valuable bronze or lacquer. When a cheaper substitute was needed, a ceramic version was manufactured. Thus, most of the earlier Chinese ceramics were considered derivative, basically cheap imitations of more valuable metal or lacquer objects. By the Six Dynasties however, technical improvements in firing, clay composition and formulating glazes led to an uncoupling of ceramics from bronze and lacquer ware. The kilns of this period began to produce vessels

Figure 2

Iron-spotted celadon vessels from Northern Mindanao.

A. Old Yüeh (Jin Dynasty)

B. Changsha ware (Sui-Tang Dynasty). A greenish-copper glaze has also been applied to this vessel.



that were artistic, as well being increasingly divergent in shape and function from their bronze and lacquer counterparts. The technical advances and resultant diversity of potential products led to a vast expansion of the production of Old Yüeh over all of Southern China. The kilns in Northern Zhejiang, the epicenter of these developments, were the largest producer and were technically and artistically the most advanced. It is likely that most of the materials recovered in the Philippines from the Six Dynasties period came from this region.

A key Old Yüeh vessel, probably one of the first utilitarian stoneware vessels widely distributed in China, triggered this study. Of all old Yüeh ceramics found in the Philippines, it is not only one of the most distinctive,

but of a type widely discussed (and speculated on), and for which there has been a surprising consensus that it was a product of the Western Jin Dynasty, around 300 AD. This lion-shaped water vessel (Figure 3, top left) is one of the Old Yüeh vessels recovered from Northern Mindanao. It represents a mythological animal called a “bixie”, believed to ward off evil spirits. This is one of the signature ceramics of the Six Dynasties (see Plate II for a more detailed discussion). Figure 3 shows other bixies found at KPC sites, including a lead-glazed example from the Tang Dynasty, a Changsha product that was probably from the Sui or Tang, and a Northern Song celadon water dropper (top right).

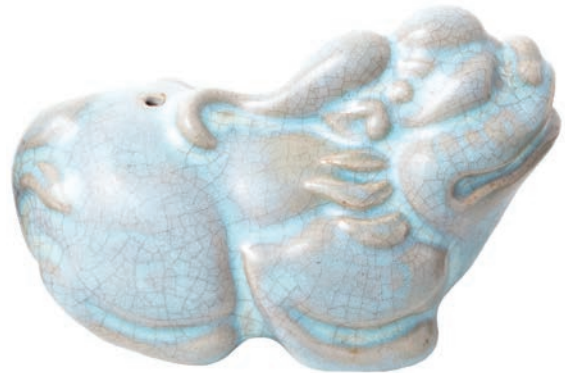


Figure 3

Bixies, made from the 3rd to the 12th century, found at KPC sites.

GALLERY OF OLD YÜEH FROM THE SIX DYNASTIES

Plate I

Celadon Soul Vase (*hunping*)

Height 32.3 cm

Western Jin period
(Recovered from Northern Mindanao)

This large jar, with buildings and anthropomorphic figures on top is a distinctive vessel made for use as tomb furniture in the Six Dynasties period. The jars were filled with grain to provide food for the afterlife. The sculptured motifs have been interpreted somewhat differently by various observers. The buildings are said to be similar to fortified structures found south of the Yangtze river in China; another interpretation is that this is a representation of Daoist heaven.

There are applique medallions below the rim of the jar, two appear to be unicorns (*chi-lin*) — see A below. These types of jars were made only for a limited time period. Thus, they serve as good index ceramics when attempting to reconstruct a chronology for KPC sites. These types of vases have not previously been reported from any sites outside China.



A



B



C



Plate I

Plate II

Old Yüeh Bixie

Length 13 cm

Western Jin period (3rd to 4th Century)
(Recovered from Northern Mindanao)

This vessel has been referred to as a “lion-shaped water vessel”, and it must have been produced in enormous quantities. What is remarkable is that there is very little variation — the animal is like a crouching lion, and the carving is similar across all examples. There is a consensus that unlike many of the Old Yüeh ceramics that have survived, this was not intended as tomb furniture (although several were found in tombs), but was an item to be proudly placed on a scholar’s desk.

There is almost total agreement when these vessels were made — they are generally assigned to the Western Jin period of the Six Dynasties (late 3rd to early 4th century). However, there is a difference of opinion on what they represent and how they were used. The vessel looks like a lion or a lion-dog, which is often how it is referred to.

However, it may represent an earlier mythological beast (a bixie), which was believed to be able to ward off evil spirits. Sato (1981) suggests that the bixie, under the influence of Buddhism, was gradually transformed from a chimeric flying animal into a lion-like creature. He also speculates that the vessel might have been used to hold wine, or alternatively, flags that were meant to ward off evil spirits. Others suggest that this was made to hold water that was mixed with ink, or that it might be a candle holder. Many major international collections of ceramics illustrate the vessel in their catalogues as an example of Old Yüeh. Thus, this seems to have been one of the first widely-disseminated “ceramic hits” of the first 500 years of our era — a cultural object that was mass-produced, for which there was a very specific consumer demand.





Plate II

Plate III

Two Zoomorphic Old Yüeh Jarlets

Three Kingdoms/Western Jin (3rd Century)
(Recovered from Northern Mindanao)

Top: Height 10.5 cm
Bottom: Diameter 8 cm

These two jarlets are Old Yüeh vessels from Northern Mindanao from the Three Kingdoms/Western Jin period. The two vessels are both early examples of what became major Old Yüeh ceramic traditions that persisted for many centuries, but evolved stylistically.

The top vessel belongs to a family generally called frog jars or toad pots, while the bottom vessel is one of the earliest examples of a cockerel-head vessel. The latter is a strong candidate for a 3rd century attribution, since the chicken-headed pot quickly evolved from this initial type to serving as the spout of an ewer later in the Jin Dynasty. The head of a bird in this case does not look so different in shape from the toad head in the jarlet above.

Later examples of attached chicken heads have considerably longer necks, and much better-defined cockscombs. The Old Yüeh vessels with a chicken head that were not used as a spout are characteristic of the 3rd century.

The toad pot has decorative elements that are found in many Old Yüeh vessels. The incised markings on the side of the pot suggest wings, making the identification of the animal represented uncertain. Toad pots were apparently made from the 3rd century to the Eastern Jin period. The Nanjing Museum has two similar toad pots from the Three Kingdoms period, one of which was recovered from a grave dated to 273 AD.





Plate III

Plate IV

Old Yüeh Toad Pots

Top: Height 14 cm

Jin Dynasty (3rd to 5th Century)
(Recovered from Mindanao)

A characteristic and idiosyncratic type of Old Yüeh vessel is the toad pot; the Plate shows four examples. The pot shown on Plate III is included here as well so that the relative sizes of these vessels can be compared. The two vessels on the left both have iron stains. The largest toad pot is very similar to one in the collection of the Tokyo Museum; this type of jar with a cylindrical mouth and iron spots is characteristic of the Eastern Jin period (4th-5th century), while the others were probably made earlier (3rd-4th century). The two smallest pots are similar to those illustrated from the Nanjing collection, dated to the Three Kingdoms period. The large iron-

spotted toad pot was fired on 5 spurs, with a reddish halo around each spur. The smaller pot on the far right was fired on 3 spurs that produced similar halos. There are no spur marks on the other two vessels. Thus, in contrast to the Old Yüeh bixie shown on Plate II, all of which are strikingly similar, Old Yüeh toad pots show much more variation, illustrated in these four examples recovered from Mindanao.

Toad pots were made at least up to the Tang Dynasty, and apparently continuously imported into the Agusan region from the Six Dynasties to the Tang period. A Tang three-color jarlet is illustrated below, center.



A



B



Plate IV

Plate V

Old Yüeh Zoomorphic Vessels

3rd to 5th Century
(Recovered from Agusan Province)

Top Left: Length 12 cm
Top Right: Diameter 8 cm
Bottom Left: Diameter 8.2 cm
Bottom Right: Height 12 cm

The four vessels shown include two that are containers of water or some other liquid (left), and two that were probably intended as tomb furniture. These represent a bird (top left), a pig feeding in a pigsty surrounded by a circular fence (top right), a tiger-faced jarlet with two handles and a tail, stained with iron-oxide (bottom left), and a monster, which is similar to one found in the Nanjing Museum collection (bottom right).

The pig and tiger-faced jarlet both have prominent iron-oxide stains, and are glazed with a more yellowish tint than is the case for the other two vessels. A very similar pig in a pigsty vessel is present in the collection of the Palace Museum, Beijing, and is assigned to the Western Jin period. A celadon jar with

a tiger head is in the Nanjing Museum collection; this was found in 1955 from a tomb near Nanjing, and is assigned to the Western Jin Dynasty. This jar does not have the iron-spot markings of the present example.

The Nanjing collection has a vessel that is somewhat larger, but with a motif similar to the tomb figurine shown on the lower right. This Nanjing vessel is called “a celadon Zun shaped like mythical beast” and is assigned to the Western Jin Dynasty. It was found in 1976 in a tomb dated to 302. Both the mythical beast in the Nanjing jar and the present example have long extended limbs, and an open mouth with carnivorous teeth, almost certainly representing the same beast; a difference is that the Nanjing beast has a pearl in its mouth.





Plate V



Plate VI

Top:
Cup and Stand with Lotus-Petal motif

Six Dynasties (4th- 6th Century)
(Recovered from Northern Mindanao)
Height 15.5 cm

Vessels of this type are indicative of the increasing influence of Buddhism in China from the 3rd to the 6th century. Although the presence of the lotus motif has persisted to the present time, its execution varied widely even in the Six Dynasties period. In many kilns, sculptural elements were added. In the example illustrated, the lotus petals are incised, which is characteristic of the Jin Dynasty when the motif first appears in ceramic vessels. The most highly-sculptured lotus motifs appear to be primarily products of Northern kilns.

A plate in the Palace museum, Beijing has a similar lotus-petal design; this is attributed to the Western Jin period.

Bottom:
Celadon Jar with Overturned Lotus Design

Southern Dynasty, 6th Century
(Recovered from Northern Mindanao)
Height 15 cm

Jars of this type with lotus petals were apparently made all over China; they typically have between 4-6 lugs on their shoulder. This example has square lugs and the matching cover. There are two similar jars in international collections, including one in the Nanjing Museum (catalog #45). Even more similar is the jar in the Museum of the Fine Arts, Boston. The Nanjing jar is said to be from Ou kiln in Zhejiang. This type of celadon was also called “piao ware”, since it has the color of piao-a silk made in the Jin Dynasty.

Shown below, at center is a celadon cover jar probably from the 10th century, showing the persistence of the lotus petal motif in ceramics from P’utuan sites.





Plate VI

HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION: THE KPC KINGDOM FROM 3RD TO 16TH CENTURY

While there is little concrete evidence that provides insights into KPC society before the 10th century, Chinese ceramics found in Northern Mindanao and Eastern Visayas suggest continuing economic prosperity and regular trade with China. The Tang Dynasty Yüeh ware (see Figure 4), and the novel products of the Changsha kilns in Hunan found in this region of the Philippine Archipelago (see Figures 2 and 4) all indicate strong commercial trade ties with China through the Sui, Tang and early Five Dynasties period.

Austronesian History and Culture

Ceramics dated to the 3rd century, including the distinctive group of Western Jin Old Yüeh ceramics found from the KPC area provide concrete evidence for a society that was already a significant player in the Austronesian maritime trade network. This network was the product of Austronesian maritime civilization. There are no written records regarding Austronesian

societies prior to the 3rd century that directly provide a political, cultural and economic context for KPC society during the Six Dynasties period. However, there is a broad literature (though vague on the specifics) on the relationship between China and Austronesian societies in Southeast Asia that is germane to how the Chinese ceramics may have ended up in the Philippines in the 3rd century.

In the 20th century, a new framework has become generally accepted for the origins of Austronesian culture (extending from Taiwan in the north to Easter Island in the East, New Zealand in the South and Madagascar off Africa in the west). This origin story is a complete revision of earlier explanations of the Austronesian diaspora, the greatest maritime migration that has occurred in human history. Relict populations that are the most similar to ancestral Austronesians are believed to still live today in Taiwan, and in the mountains of Northern Luzon. The ancestral Austronesian groups first migrated from Taiwan and the Chinese mainland to the Northern Philippines, presumably through the small chain of islands between Taiwan and Luzon, including the Batanes group. There followed a diffusion of Austronesian-speaking peoples to the Central and Southern Philippines and to Borneo. Finally, Austronesian populations colonized most of the Indonesian Islands south to Timor, west to Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, a colonization that took place remarkably rapidly, and which accounts for the vast majority of people who live in these countries at the present time. (Most of Southeast Asia including the Philippine Archipelago, were colonized at least 30,000 years earlier by the original migration of *Homo sapiens* out of Africa into Eurasia, all the way to Australia and New Guinea).

During the initial expansion from Luzon to the Central and Southern Philippines and the Sulu Sea area, a technological breakthrough seems to have occurred which



Figure 4

Three chicken-headed ewers from Agusan. Left: Old Yüeh ewer, 3rd-5th century. Middle: Yüeh ewer, Tang Dynasty, 7th-9th century. Right: Northern Celadon ewer, Northern Song Dynasty, 10th-12th century.

became key to establishing the Austronesian maritime culture. Today, throughout the Southern Philippines and the Sulu Sea, fishermen use watercraft with outriggers; the outrigger was the innovation that ultimately radiated all the way to the Hawaiian Islands and beyond. Because the Central and Southern Philippines and Indonesia are archipelagos, once outrigger canoes became available to coastal communities, an ever-expanding maritime diaspora and trading network was established between increasingly more distant Austronesian groups.

There is direct archaeological evidence, supported by linguistic analyses, for the rapid development and expansion of this maritime network. One important indicator of the geographic extent of the early Austronesian trade across all Southeast Asia is jade jewelry, utilizing nephrite only found at a specific mine site in Taiwan. This distinctive jade jewelry, including a characteristic ornament called *lingling-o* was used all over the Philippines, as well as by such cultures as the Sa Huynh of Vietnam (that flourished from 2000 BC to the beginnings of Champa in 500 BC).

Very different evidence for the extent of the Austronesian trade network involves artifacts associated with the Lapita culture established in the Solomon Islands and Samoa, which was the launching point for the Polynesian voyages of colonization across the South Pacific. Lapita artifacts include characteristic pottery found from western Samoa to the Philippines and Borneo, and the use of obsidian (known as *talasea obsidian*) mined only in New Britain, which has been recovered from the Sulu Sea area. The nature of these trade networks probably varied from informal exchanges between neighboring islands using relatively small craft, to much longer voyages for major items of trade. KPC society was almost certainly a well-embedded participant within the wider Austronesian network by the 3rd century. How could the Chinese ceramics found in KPC sites have been brought there? The Chinese records suggest two possibilities, Funan and Linyi.

From China to the Philippines During the Six Dynasties

At the very southern tip of what is today South Vietnam, a kingdom called Funan was a critical link between China and India. Merchandise from the Indian Ocean was brought to the Kra peninsula, the narrowest point between Thailand and the Malay peninsula, and moved across by land to the east. Ships then took this merchandise to Funan where merchants from China exchanged silk and other trade goods for Indian/Middle Eastern and Roman goods. Trade between KPC chiefdoms and Funan may have brought Chinese ceramics to the Philippines in the 3rd century.

Further north on the Vietnamese coast were the beginnings of Champa; when the Han Dynasty collapsed, the kingdoms from the old Southern border of the Chinese empire referred to in Chinese chronicles as Linyi, are today regarded by some historians as an initial phase of Northern Champa (this remains controversial). This early kingdom had missions to China as early as 280 AD and was part of the Southeast Asian trade network presumably with links to the KPC kingdom. Some Chinese ceramics could have been brought to chiefdoms in the KPC chiefdoms through Linyi.

A final possibility was direct trade with China. What high-end goods could have been brought to China that could have been bartered for the ceramics described above? One possibility was gold: there was a well-established gold production industry in Northern Mindanao. A second is spices: in the 3rd century, KPC participation in the Austronesian trade network made it strategically well situated for the spice trade (see the map in Figure 5). By the first half of the millennium; cloves, nutmeg and mace were used in China both as condiments and for medicinal purposes and the preservation of meat. Thus, given the location of what we suggest is the 3rd century KPC kingdom, traders may have brought cloves and nutmeg to China, making KPC an important player in the spice trade in the first half of the millennium.

As indicated above, some dating of the wooden boats (Balangays) recovered in the Agusan area (to 320 AD) provides additional support for the hypothesized direct-trade scenario. Both the funerary soul vase and the lion/bixie Old Yüeh vessel provide unambiguous evidence that Chinese ceramics were brought to the Philippine Archipelago in the 3rd century. The three scenarios above (not mutually exclusive) may rationalize how the Old Yüeh ware in Plates I to VI were found at KPC sites.

KPC from the 3rd to 13th Century

The ceramics, combined with historical events in the Austronesian network of Southeast Asia, allow a



Figure 5

Map of P'u-tuan in relation to the Spice Islands and other Austronesian maritime trade centers. The proximity of P'u-tuan to the Spice Islands in the Moluccas is compared with Srivijaya, Majapahit (which succeeded earlier Javanese kingdoms) and Champa.

reasonable reconstruction for how KPC might have developed so that by the 11th century, it was able to negotiate directly with the Northern Song court for a formal trade relationship with the Chinese Empire.

One historical transition that may have increased prosperity and cultural influence during this period is that the Kingdom of Funan began to decline in the 6th century, while Champa in Central and Southern Vietnam increased its influence, as did Srivijaya, another Austronesian entrepôt situated near the modern city of Palembang in Sumatra. There was also increasing influence exerted by kingdoms in Central Java. The Austronesian trade network that had been in place for millennia no doubt included regular trade between Northern Mindanao and Eastern Visayas with Champa, Srivijaya and the Javanese kingdoms. Indeed, it is possible that the goods in Srivijaya that had come from further west (India, the Middle East and ultimately even from Europe through Venice), were traded for goods handled by the KPC kingdom. KPC may have been an important source of cloves and nutmeg from the Spice Islands.

The ceramic evidence suggests a maritime trade that was highly profitable, which could explain why KPC chiefs began to feel that they were as important as Champa in regard to trade with Northern Song Dynasty China. This may also explain the series of missions from 1001 AD, until the Northern Song court finally conferred on P'u-tuan, the same rank as Champa. Initially then, the KPC kingdom was regarded as a “johnny-come-lately” with regard to its relations with China and during the initial 11th century missions, treated as such. By 1011, the importance of KPC trade was formally recognized by the Chinese Imperial Court.

Changsha Ware

The technological developments in the Jin Dynasty by the Old Yüeh kilns were widely disseminated

across China. Among the important kiln complexes influenced by Old Yüeh were those in Hunan Province, near Changsha. These kilns produced very distinctive ceramics that became increasingly popular and by the 9th century, were the major Chinese ceramics exported through the maritime silk road. Changsha vessels have been found in the core Agusan area, as well as in other sites in Northern Mindanao. Notably, several of the Changsha ceramics recovered from Philippine sites are generally smaller and many have the iron-oxide staining, similar to that seen in many Old Yüeh vessels, such as the pigpen in Figure 2. However, the Changsha potters had learned how to use a green copper color (this became the basis for a spectacular flourishing of underglaze painting on Changsha ware later in the Tang Dynasty). The small Changsha ewer in Figure 6 represents an entirely different type compared to the later Changsha export ware. These vessels are difficult to date, but an earlier assignment, perhaps from the 7th-8th century is reasonable, given the general similarity of these to Old Yüeh from the Six Dynasties period. These Changsha ewers in Figures 2 and 6 have the same iron-oxide spotting as many Old Yüeh vessels; the glaze is characteristically more yellowish than Old Yüeh, but the affinities are clear (e.g., the dark iron-oxide markings, the use of incisions). The ewer appears to be an early example of Changsha potters applying a green copper stain with brown iron oxide.

Yüeh Ware

The transition from Old Yüeh to the justly celebrated Yüeh vessels of the Five Dynasties period (10th century) is poorly understood. Few pieces of Yüeh ware from earlier than the 10th century have been reliably dated. A number of vessels from Philippine sites may be examples of this earlier production. There are Yüeh pieces, reportedly from the Agusan area, that have features linking them to Old Yüeh. In Figure 4, the center ewer, with a narrow

flask-like shape, and with the typical carving for which Yüeh ware is famous, has a chicken head as a spout, a link to Old Yüeh. A 7th-9th century attribution seems justified.

As suggested above (and which we will document in future publications), the ceramic evidence for an unusually-close relationship between the Northern Song and P'utuan is compelling. Recoveries from areas within the KPC cultural sphere provide an unprecedented trove of Northern Song ceramics that are as spectacular in their historical and cultural implications as was the discovery of the Surigao gold treasure.

Figure 6

Changsha ewer decorated with iron-oxide and green-copper splotches.



Decline: KPC from the 13th to 16th Century

We suggest a KPC golden age from the 9th-12th century that had lost preeminence by the time of the first contact with the Spanish colonizers. This can be inferred from events in Southeast Asia. As a source of cloves, nutmeg and mace from the Spice Islands that were traded with China, the KPC could also have brought those spices to Srivijaya and Central Java. As was clearly well known to the Chinese, trade between KPC and Champa was firmly established. Chinese records document regular missions to China from Champa starting with the 5th century throughout the Tang Dynasty, and to the 11th century. A new factor was the increasing dominance of Javanese kingdoms, in particular, Majapahit, in the Southeast Asian Austronesian trade network. A second factor is that starting late in the Song Dynasty, partly because the overland route to the Middle East and to Europe was cut off by the Mongol expansion on the Northern border of China, there was an increase in the direct participation in the maritime trade by the Chinese themselves.

The Song Dynasty court needed extra income (the Song Emperors essentially tried to maintain peace with hostile northern neighbors by bribing them). Consequently, an organized system was established so that goods coming into Chinese ports were taxed for the benefit of the Imperial Court. Thus, the Chinese no longer relied primarily on foreign traders, but actively traded themselves, particularly with the rising kingdoms in Java. Both the Southern Song and Yuan Dynasty Imperial courts strongly encouraged the maritime trade. As a consequence of the direct trade between the Chinese with Java and the rest of the Majapahit Empire, the income KPC derived from trading with Austronesian polities in the west, such as Srivijaya or Champa could have decreased significantly. Thus, these societies may have gradually declined to become just one of the many kingdoms within the Philippine Archipelago involved in the Southeast Asian trade network, and not the

preeminent trade entrepôt it was in the 9th-12th centuries.

It should be possible to evaluate other potential factors that would have influenced KPC in the 13th-16th centuries: the expanding influence of Islam in the region, particularly in the western part of the KPC sphere of influence and the increasing power of the Sultanate of Jolo that may have deprived KPC centers of some of the trade goods that were profitable in the 11th century, but now taken over by the Jolo Sultanate — these are additional economic and social factors that likely contributed. Since there are many potential historical sources that can be used to assess these, charting out KPC in increasing detail after the 13th century could be a focus of future scholarly research. Clearly, when Pigafetta recorded Magellan's voyage in 1521, the ruler of Butuan was less influential than Humabon of Cebu.

Chicken-Headed Ewers: a Site-Specific Import

One of the most distinctive vessels in the Chinese ceramic repertoire are ewers with a chicken head as a spout. This vessel was continuously made in China, in part because it was used for a funeral ritual. After a burial, the eldest son of the deceased would walk back home pouring water out of a chicken-headed ewer. The ewer evolved from a chicken-headed jarlet of the type shown in Plate III and in Figure 7, top left. Most ewers had two lugs on their shoulder in the early period, and the handle extended above the mouth (Figure 4, left).

Such ewers were regularly imported by KPC sites. The vast majority of chicken-headed vessels made in China between the 3rd to 12th century found in the Philippines were all from the Mindanao/Eastern Visayan sites in Figure 1 (not just the vessels from the Six Dynasties period). We illustrate a chicken-headed ewer from the Yüeh kilns, (Tang Dynasty), a double-headed Northern Celadon chicken ewer from the 10th-11th century, and a Qingbai chicken-headed ewer,

likely from the 11th-12th century (Figure 4 and 7).

A possible facet of Austronesian culture that made these ewers popular was the universal interest in cock fighting (which was so pervasive that many individuals were apparently enslaved because they were unable to pay debts incurred through the rampant gambling associated with cock fights). Whatever the reason for the fascination of the KPC culture with chicken-headed ewers, they represent a persisting cultural interest from the Western Jin period (the jarlet in Plate III) to the Eastern Jin (the small ewer shown in Figure 4, left) through the Tang and the Northern Song.



Figure 7

Chicken heads in vessels recovered in P'utuan sites. Top figures: Vessels of the Six Dynasties period. Bottom: Left to Right: Spout of Tang Dynasty Yüeh ewer; double spout of Northern Song celadon ewer; spout of Qingbai ewer, 11th-13th century.

Lotus Petals in Chinese Ceramics

Perhaps the most persistent Old Yüeh decorative motif introduced during the Six Dynasties period are lotus petals, which have become standard motifs in Chinese ceramics ever since. Old Yüeh vessels found in tombs that have been dated to the Western Jin Dynasty used this motif; the lotus is a Buddhist symbol, and this was a period when Buddhism started to become a strong cultural influence on all aspects of Chinese life. The early Old Yüeh vessels such as the cup and saucer shown in Plate VI had incised petals that are very characteristic, and typical of the initial style. This decorative element became widely used on Yüeh celadons during the 4th and 5th century. Late in the Six Dynasties period, lotus-petals were carved, and among the vessels with carved lotus petals were cover jars that had 4-6 lugs on the shoulder. KPC ceramics provide not only an example of the early lotus style, but of a globular jar, probably made in Zhejiang province, also shown in Plate VI. The downward-facing lotus petals divide the globular jar into an upper and a lower half. Such jars were apparently an immense success for household use, and became widely copied, not only by kilns within Zhejiang province, but all over China. This spread to the northern kilns, probably in the 6th century. In the Northern Celadon rendition, the jars became taller and divided in the middle; an example from a KPC site is shown in Figure 8A. This type of Northern Celadon vase was often profusely decorated with applique petals, and some were made in monumental proportions, often to be used as tomb furniture.

The lotus motif continued to be used in subsequent Celadon traditions, not just by the Yüeh kilns in Zhejiang, but in Northern Celadon vessels and ultimately, by the vast complex that made export celadons in the Southern Song and Yuan periods at Longquan. Lotus bowls and lotus dishes are found all over the Philippines at many sites where Southern Song and Yuan export-ware has been recovered, and the classical Philippine ceramic sites

such as St. Ana in Manila or Puerto Galera in Mindoro have yielded some of the best-preserved examples of Longquan bowls and dishes with lotus-petal motifs.

Perhaps even more significant was the use of the motif in porcelain made by Jingdezhen kilns. What had happened at the Old Yüeh kilns was recapitulated more than half a millennium later; the earliest products of the Jingdezhen kiln were mostly plain, white-glazed porcelain, the beginnings of the Qingbai tradition. Just as the Old Yüeh potters of the Six Dynasties period had done, Jingdezhen potters in the early 11th century began to decorate their pure-white porcelain vessels with the lotus-petal motif. The monograph by Jan Wirgin catalogs different types of Jingdezhen vessels using lotus petals early in the Northern Song period. What is remarkable is that just as Old Yüeh potters decorated globular bowls with this motif, the Jingdezhen potters produced globular covered bowls, and employed the overlapping petals as originally used in

6th century Old Yüeh ware. Figure 8B shows such bowls.

What is particularly significant is that in the same cultural tradition in the Philippines that had purchased the Old Yüeh lotus-petal jars in the 6th century, a strong consumer demand for globular covered bowls decorated with overlapping petals was apparently retained. Thus, the decorative tradition pioneered in the Six Dynasties period was transmitted to become a standard motif used in products of the Jingdezhen kiln, a decorative motif that has persisted in what became the preeminent producer of porcelain in the world. Perhaps in the maritime KPC kingdom, these jars decorated with lotus petals served the same function in the 11th century as did covered globular jars in the 6th. Thus, a continuous thread in Chinese ceramic decorative traditions might have been complemented by a steady demand on the part of KPC consumers, reflecting continuity in their cultural traditions that remain elusive to us at the present time.



Figure 8

A. Celadon vase with lotus petal motif from a northern kiln.

B. Old Yüeh globular jar (6th century) and two Qingbai Jingdezhen vessels from the 11th century, all with lotus-petal motifs.

GEOGRAPHY, TIME AND CERAMICS: AUTHOR'S NOTES

This booklet documents an attempt at chronology that is analogous to efforts of geologists to reconstruct earth history using the fossil record. Here, I attempt to reconstruct Philippine pre-history using dated Chinese ceramics recovered at different sites in Northern Mindanao and the Eastern Visayas. Dating the Chinese ceramics is based on a multi-disciplinary consensus of when and where each individual vessel was made. The intellectual framework and the evidence used is analogous to reconstructing a chronology in the earth sciences using index fossils. This ceramic evidence is consistent with an Austronesian society immersed in maritime trade that was in continuous existence for over a millennium, and reached its zenith between the 9th and 12th century.

The specific recoveries at different localities in the KPC sphere of influence suggest that the center of this maritime culture was initially on the northern and eastern coast of Mindanao in the Southern Philippines. The ceramic record suggests that between the 9th and 12th century, KPC cultural influence had expanded and at its height, highly-sophisticated centers of culture were present from Lanao del Norte province to Samar and the southern tip of the Bicol peninsula. Thus, the pattern of ceramics found provides suggestive evidence for a geographic expansion of KPC cultural influence until the 10th-11th centuries.

It is difficult to precisely reconstruct where the vast number of Chinese ceramics found by pot hunters in the Philippines were found. Typically a specific type of ceramic vessel, made by one kiln over a defined period of time, suddenly appears in the antique markets of Manila, and then disappears, often never to be seen again. Although, clearly the products of different kilns have been brought to the Manila antique market at different times, Old Yüeh apparently comes from Mindanao and Eastern Samar. The political organization of Austronesian society can potentially explain this localized feature of the recoveries of Chinese ceramics

at KPC sites. Although we refer to a single complex society, Austronesian political groups were not strongly centralized. Rather, there was relatively little hierarchy — there might have been a paramount chief to whom other chiefs deferred, but each locality was in essence an autonomous chiefdom, and who became the paramount chief depended on wealth, personality, family ties, etc.

Thus, the federated, loosely-organized political structure of Austronesian societies gave each locality the autonomy to go its own way. Indeed, in the mission to the Song court of 1011, there is a record of many chiefs arriving at the Song capital, including one called the King of P'utuan (although he had this title, the Song chronicles make it clear he was not the paramount chief). For historians trained in western political organizations in which small chiefdoms evolve into becoming a state or a kingdom, there is a problem coming up with even a name for the typical Austronesian political organization (Junker calls these “paramount chiefdoms”). The KPC can be regarded as a shifting federation of chiefdoms sharing strong cultural traditions that lasted for over a millennium.

In the sections above, I have tried to assemble diverse evidence for the existence of the KPC Kingdom. Much is personal opinion based on the ceramics that I have seen and collected for many decades. I started collecting Chinese ceramics from Philippine sites in the 1960s when they first began to appear in the antique shops of Manila. It was an exciting time, because Robert Fox and the Locsins had just described their excavations, and many people in the Philippines became interested in the Song celadons and Yuan blue-and-white ceramics that the Locsins had described. The Southern Song Longquan ceramics were coming out in great numbers, and at relatively modest prices — these, of course, have a universal appeal, with their lustrous jade-like glazes. It became a social custom among friends to spend weekends having middlemen who went to sites where

these were being excavated (which were all fairly close to Manila) come to show what they recently obtained.

From the beginning, I was different from most friends who gathered together to look at the newly excavated ceramics. Most were primarily motivated by their aesthetic sensibilities; we had painters, actors, authors, journalists, etc., in our circle of friends, and most purchases were of well-known types of Chinese ceramics that were beautiful. There was always a feeling that anything unfamiliar might be a fake, and therefore there was generally little interest in what the diggers brought up that was not a well-established type. Because I am a research scientist involved in discovery, from the start I had the opposite attitude — it was the unknown types that most fascinated me. This of course was a huge advantage because no one else was interested in what was undefined, and the middlemen had no customers for these. Inevitably the prices requested for unknown types were modest. Very early on, I bought a large ewer, which was imperfect, but I thought extremely imposing, and I completely trusted the middleman since we had been dealing with him for some time; I remember that some in our group teased that it was probably Spanish and not Chinese. Shortly thereafter, an identical ewer was seen in a publication in one of the antique shops; it was a Changsha ewer from the Tang Dynasty. I had bought the first well-established Chinese ceramic vessel from the Philippines that unquestionably had a Tang Dynasty provenance. Ever since, I have not hesitated to buy interesting, but unknown vessel types.

Many middlemen who would come for these weekend events were Muslim dealers from the Southern Philippines, and they would bring antique ceramics excavated in Mindanao (as well as heirloom ceramics that were being purchased from indigenous tribal groups). There were also freelance Mindanao middlemen traders who hung out around the antique shops in the tourist areas of Manila who offered Chinese ceramics that came from the Southern Philippines. It was primarily

the traders from the Southern Philippines who brought back Chinese ceramics that were almost certainly from KPC sites. However, at the time, my primary fascination was with where and when the vessels were made in China, and although I always gravitated to things that were novel and which I had never seen before, I did not press the traders on exactly where a particular vessel was excavated. I would simply ask where it came from, and only a general geographic locality would be supplied. For this reason, all I know about many of the ceramics now in my collection that I believe are probably from KPC sites, is that they were collected in “Mindanao” — Mindanao is of course a large island, and KPC maritime sites are on the northern end, and possibly half-way down the eastern coast. There were very important complex societies in the southwestern part of the island, and in the far west; the Sulu sultanate became established at around the end of the Song Dynasty in China.

One of a group of ceramics that I had obtained from a clandestine Muslim dealer is shown in Figure 9. The three pieces shown were obtained from the same dealer within the period of about 6 months. At the time, I had no idea what these were — the trader had said that he thought that they were Tang Dynasty pieces, but I was rather skeptical.

Many years later, I was wandering through a well-known bookstore in Seattle that had a large supply of old books, and I found a book by an Italian author, Mario Prodan, entitled: *The Art of the Tang Potter*. It is one of those art books in which the color plates have been glued on; on Plate VII of the book, there was a photograph of three entertainers unquestionably similar to the female figures shown in Figure 9. In the legend of the Prodan book, the female figures are described as being from Kucha in Eastern Turkestan who came into China together with Persians in the guise of entertainers. Prodan goes on to say that they gained immediate approval from the Chinese for their grace and accomplishments, and they brought a mode of dress which was widely adopted,

even though it differed radically from the traditional Chinese robes (the three ceramic figures were in the van der Elst collection in Brussels). Even more amazing was that perhaps a decade later, I obtained a book that was the catalogue of the famous Barlow collection, now at the University of Sussex and that book had as its front cover the same type of female figurines. Thus, the available evidence is that the three ceramics in Figure 9 are either from the late Sui Dynasty, or very early Tang Dynasty. I believe that they are very probably imported by a KPC site. I never saw anything like them again in any Philippine recovery. As far as I know, the small horse shown in the figure is unique. Thus, these show that high-end ceramics were being imported into Mindanao in the late 6th-early 7th century, I speculate to a KPC site.

Another zoomorphic vessel obtained from a Mindanao dealer is shown in Figure 10. This was described to me as probably a horse from the Song Dynasty. It is certainly Tang Dynasty in style, but I have never seen any other ceramic horse in the literature similar to this one. Again, all I know is that it was from “Mindanao”, but it is an example of a likely KPC vessel. At this point I of course regret that I did not try to find out a more precise locality for these ceramics. Clearly, the two horses indicate both a certain prosperity and a refined aesthetic sense on the part of the buyers. In the last decade, I have tried to ask every dealer what they know about the origins of what I buy; very often the antique shops in Manila have bought material from clandestine traders who will not reveal their sources and possibly even provide information that is deliberately misleading. Many of the long-established antique ceramics dealers in Manila are now quite aged and have poor memories. These are therefore the problems in assigning an accurate provenance, but I think it is desirable to obtain whatever information that one can, and cross-correlate the data to come up with a reasonably accurate picture of where particular types of Chinese ceramics were recovered.

Future Prospects: Philippine Pre-History, Chinese Ceramics, and Public Policy

The framework I have presented is for a “lost kingdom” in the Philippines that existed longer than did Mayan or Inca civilization in the Americas, and this is primarily based on Chinese ceramics, and buttressed by other evidence. Clearly, the narrative will become clearer when additional archaeological evidence, particularly for the early centuries of the KPC culture, becomes available. I believe that there are many opportunities that should arise in the future, and that these would be greatly facilitated by wise public policy and an organized academic initiative with the appropriate expertise.

Like index fossils, the recoveries of Chinese ceramics provide evidence for specific sites of KPC



Figure 9

Cream-white glazed female figurines and horse. These figurines represent among the most realistically modeled of all of the products of the kilns of China. These were presumably made primarily to be tomb furniture (Sui or Early Tang).

culture that were active at a particular point in time. These therefore serve as an indication that a systematic archaeological excavation in the vicinity of such sites may uncover detailed evidence for what that outpost of KPC society was like at the time. The ceramic discoveries are therefore like pheromone signals that emanate from potentially important archaeological sites, signals that should be acted on and not ignored. If we wish to understand Philippine pre-history at an accelerated rate, we should vigorously encourage the identification of the locations of potential cultural and historical

sites. The present public policy does not encourage this, since in essence, pot hunters are criminalized and have to operate in a legal shadow. In my opinion, this is a misguided and counterproductive policy, largely unenforceable in any case. It would be far better to have a policy to systematically recruit pot hunters as amateur archaeological sleuths, and to accompany this with educational tools for the local schools, and facilities to set up small local museums — this could be a creative tool to make the locals aware of their rich, long-hidden cultural heritage.



Figure 10

Two horses recovered from Mindanao. The smaller horse, also shown in Figure 9, is from the 7th century. Although the lead glaze of the larger horse is similar to Tang Dynasty funerary lead glazes, the style is somewhat different and it may be Liao, Five Dynasties or Northern Song.



Changsha ware - Tang Dynasty.
Iron oxide and copper-green
underglaze decoration.

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Lamp in the form of a goose, Tang Dynasty, 8th century.

Front Cover: Three Celadon Vessels from Kalaga-P'utuan Crescent (KPC) Sites.

clockwise from top left:

Small Old Yüeh ware ewer from the Six Dynasties period (3rd-6th century).
Celadon in the form of a classic Shang Dynasty bronze (10th-12th century).
Bluish celadon water dropper in the form of a bixie (10th-12th century).

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